BIBLIOTHECA VICTORINA
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XVI

THE LITURGY OF
THE CANONS REGULAR
OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE
OF JERUSALEM

A STUDY AND A CATALOGUE
OF THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

BREPOLS

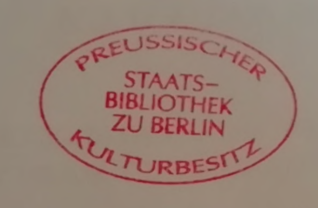
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XVI

Cristina DONDI

THE LITURGY OF THE CANONS REGULAR OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE OF JERUSALEM

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2004
BREPOLS



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PREFACE

This book is based on my Ph.D. thesis submitted in 2000 at King's College, London: *The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (XII–XVI Centuries), with special reference to the Practice of the Orders of the Temple and St John of Jerusalem.* To Albinia de la Mare †, who supervised the palaeographical side of my work, and Diana Webb who, as my supervisor in the History department at King's, guided me through the entire process of writing a thesis, I am deeply grateful. Professor David Ganz and Professor Jonathan Riley-Smith, as examiners, provided much useful guidance and much encouragement for the further development of the thesis into a publishable text.

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I would also like to acknowledge the financial help of the British Academy, the Central Research Fund of the University of London, and the Humanities Research Committee of King's College, London.

I dedicate this book to my parents, Lisetta and Carlo, and to my husband Steve.

University of Oxford

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Meaning
A	Antiphona
An	Antiphonarium
ab	abbas
abp	archbishop
All	Alleluia
Add	Addition
ap/app	apostolus/i
arch	archangelus
archep	archiepiscopus
B	Breviarium
b	beatus/a
BMV	Beata Maria Virgo
bn	benedictio
bp	bishop
cf/cff	confessor/es
C	Calendarium
Co	Commemoratio
Coll	Collectarium
Comm	Commemoratio
Com	Communio
c.s.t.	cum sociis tuis
D	Duplex
DF	Duplex Festum
DM MEM	Demum memoria
diac	diaconus
disc	discipulus
doct	doctor
E	Epistolarium
ep/epp	episcopus/i
et al.	et alii
et soc.	et sociorum
ev	evangelista
FD	Festum Duplex
fr	frater, fratres
G	Graduale
H	Liber Horarum
Hymn	Hymnarium
I.C.	Ihesus Christus
I.i.t.d.I.d.s.	In illo tempore dixit Ihesus discipulis suis
Intr.	Introitus
Invit.	Invitatorium
L	Lectionarium
M	Missale
m/mm	martyr/es
magr	magister
MEM	Memoria
mon	monachus
Nat	Nativitas/Natalis
O	Ordinarium
O.s.d.	Omnipotens sempiterne deus
Oct	Octava
OD	Officium defunctorum
Or	Oratio
Po	Pontificale
pont/pontt	pontifex/ices
Postcom	Postcommunio
pp	papa
Pr	Processionale
presb	presbyter
proph	propheta
Pros	Prosarium
Ps	Psalterium
ps	psalmus
QT	Quattuor Tempora
R	Responsorium
S	Sacramentarium
s/ss	sanctus/a, sancti/ae
Secr.	Secreta
SD	Semiduplex
T	Troparium

TD	Totum Duplex	V	Versus, Versiculus
Transf	Transfertur	v/vv	virgo/virgines
Transl	Translatio	Vig	Vigilia

[ ]	Editorial additions
( )	Explanations, and later additions to the calendar
| |	lacunae
\ /	Interlinear additions

AH	*Analecta hymnica medii aevi*
AOSMM	*Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malta*
BS	*Bibliotheca Sanctorum*
Cart. Hosp.	*Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem*
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
DBF	*Dictionnaire de biographie française*
DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*
DIP	*Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
GW	*Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*
IBF	*Index biographique français*
IBI	*Indice biografico italiano*
ISTC	*Incunable Short-Title Catalogue*
PL	*J. P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completes, series Latina*
PR	*M. Andrieu, Le Pontifical romain au moyen âge*
RH	*Repertorium hymnologicum*
RHC Occ	*Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*
WT	*William of Tyre, Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS CITED IN ABBREVIATED FORM

A. Holy Sepulchre

HS[1] Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 477
HS[2] Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. McClean 49
HS[3] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12056
HS[4] London, British Library, ms. Egerton 1139
HS[5] Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Barb. lat. 659
HS[6] Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. VI. G. 11
HS[7] Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, ms. 5
HS[8] Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 6
HS[9] Barletta, Archivio della Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro, ms. s.n.
HS[10] Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, ms. G.V. 12
HS[11] London, British Library, ms. Additional 57528
HS[12] Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 323
HS[13] London, British Library, ms. Egerton 2902
HS[14] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 10478
HS[15] London, British Library, ms. Egerton 3153
HS[16] Saint-Wandrille, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye, ms. P. 12
HS[17] Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1076
HS[18] Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, mss. Palatini 185-6
HSN Canons of the Holy Sepulchre of Neisse. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, ms. I Qu. 175 (O 14th c.)

B. Other manuscripts and early printed books used for comparative liturgical analysis

Au [Autun], *Missale Eduense*. Lyons: Cornelius a Septemgrangiis «veneunt Heduae apud Iohannem Hamelium», 1555 (Weale-Bohatta no. 380): London, British Library, L.18.a.2.(1.)
Av [Avranches], London, British Library, ms. Additional 29885 (B 14/15th c.)
B[1] [Bayeux], Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 279 (B 13th c.)

- B^{2} — Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 72 (B 15th c.)
- B^{3} — Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 75 (B 15th c.)
- B^{4} — *Missale Baiocense*. Rouen : Johannes Mauditier and Petrus Olivier for Petrus Regnault, 15 Dec. 1501 (Weale-Bohatta no. 135) : Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Fol. T 678
- B^{5} — *Missale*. Rouen : Martin Morin, 1545 (Weale-Bohatta no. 140) : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Vélins 919
- B^{6} — Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 121 (O 13th c.), ed. Chevalier
- B^{7} — Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 119 (O 15th c.)
- Cant — [Canterbury, St Augustine], Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 270 (M 11/12th c.)
- Carm^{1} — [Carmelites], Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 23030 (An 15th c.)
- Carm^{2} — Oxford, University College, ms. E 9 (B English 14th c.)
- Carm^{3} — Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 86 (B Kilcormick 1489?)
- Carm^{4} — Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1275 (B 15th c.)
- Carm^{5} — London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms. 193 (O 14th c.), ed. Zimmerman
- Ch^{1} — [Chartres], Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 588 (B 13th c.)
- Ch^{2} — Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. lat. 4756 (B 13th c.)
- Ch^{3} — Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 103 (B Saint-Martin-au-Val, 14th c.)
- Ch^{4} — Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 13240 (B 15th c.)
- Ch^{5} — Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1053 (B 15th c.)
- Ch^{6} — Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1265 (B 15th c.)
- Ch^{7} — *Breviarium*. Paris : Antonius Vitré, 1661 (Bohatta, *Breviere*, no. 2087) : Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, BB 8° 877-878 inv. 1063-1064
- Ch^{8} — Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Canon. liturg. 344 (M 14th c.)
- Ch^{9} — Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1794 (O Saint-Jean-en-Vallée, 12th c.), ed. Delaporte
- Ch^{10} — Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 81 («Ordo Officiorum» Saint-Chéron, 16th c.)

- Co — [Cosenza], *Missale Cosentinense*. Venice : Petrus Liechtenstein, 1549 (Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, no. 325B) : London, British Library, Legg 88
- Do — [Dominican], Rome, S. Sabina, Biblioteca della Curia Generalizia dei Domenicani, ms. XIV lit. 1 (An 13th c.)
- Du — [Durham], Cambridge, Jesus College, ms. Q. B. 5 (G 15th c.)
- Ev^{1} — [Évreux], Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1270 (B 14th c.)
- Ev^{2} — Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 216 (B 14th c.)
- Ev^{3} — Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 388 (B 14th c.)
- Ev^{4} — London, British Library, ms. Additional 26655 (M 13th c.)
- Ev^{5} — London, ms. sold at Sotheby's, 22 June 1999, lot 82 (M 1320-30)
- Ev^{6} — Évreux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. L. 95 (O 14th c.)
- Gu — [Guisborough (York) OSA], London, British Library, ms. Additional 35285 (O 13th c.)
- Her^{1} — [Hereford], *Breviarium*. Rouen : Inghelbertus Haghe, 7 July 1505 (Bohatta, *Breviere*, and Amiet, *Missels et breviaires*, no. 2275; ed. W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown, 3 vols, London, 1904-15 (Henry Bradshaw Society, 26, 40, 46)) : Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Missals 69
- Her^{2} — *Missale ad usum percelebris Ecclesiae Herfordiensis*. Rouen : Petrus Olivier and Johannes Mauditier, 1 Sept. 1502 (ed. W. G. Henderson, Leeds, 1874; repr. Farnborough, 1969) : London, British Library, C.35.i.4
- Hos^{1} — [Hospitallers], Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 355 (B 1200-50)
- Hos^{2} — Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 246 (Ps-H *c.*1250)
- Hos^{3} — London, British Library, ms. Additional 41061 (H beg 14th c. after 1309)
- Hos^{4} — Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 446 (Ps-Hym 1300-45)
- Hos^{5} — Fribourg, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, ms. L 91 (M 1300-45)
- Hos^{6} — Cambridge, University Library, ms. Add. 6652 (B 1340)
- Hos^{7} — Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 184 C 7 (G 1300-50)
- Hos^{8} — London, British Library, ms. Sloane 1611 (Ps 14th c.)
- Hos^{9} — Marseilles, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 109 (B 14th c. end)

Hos[10] Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, ms. F.III.17 (G-Pros 1400-49)

Hos[11] Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Inc. I/18 (B 1451)

Hos[12] Oxford, St John's College, ms. 131 (Ps-H 1455-88)

Hos[13] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1400 (H *c.*1460)

Hos[14] Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 56 (B *c.*1471-73)

Hos[15] Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 184 C 5 (An 1480)

Hos[16] Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, ms. 1 (M 1488)

Hos[17] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 10111 (B 1450-1500)

Hos[18] London, Library of the Venerable Order of St John, ms. A 3 (B 15th c.)

Hos[19] Valletta, National Library of Malta, ms. 455 (OD 15/16th c.)

Hos[20] Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 184 C 4 (An *c.*1525)

Hos[21] Monreale, Tesoro della Cattedrale, ms. s.n. (B 1550-78)

Hos[22] *Breviarium*. Mainz: Printer of «Prognosticatio», *c.*1480 (*ISTC* no.: ib011443300): London, British Library, IA.322

Hos[23] *Breviarium*. Speyer: Peter Drach, 1495 (*ISTC* no.: ib01143310): London, British Library, IA.8647

Hos[24] *Breviarium*. Lyons: Cyriacus Hochperg, 1517 (BOHATTA, *Breviere*, no. 1744): Cambridge, University Library, F 151. E. 4.6

Hos[25] *Breviarium*. Saragossa: George Coci, 4 Nov. 1547 (BOHATTA, *Breviere*, no. 1745): Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Res. 1912

Hos[26] *Breviarium*. Lyons: Cornelius a Septemgrangiis, 1551 (AMIET, *Missels et breviaires*, no. 126): Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. B. 511 664

Hos[27] *Missale*. Strasbourg: Johannes Prüss, 1505 (WEALE-BOHATTA no. 1932): Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, Lit. 111

Hos[28] *Missale*. Lyons: Cornelius a Septemgrangiis, 1551 (WEALE-BOHATTA no. 1934): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. B 320

Hos[29] *Missale*. Lyons: Cornelius a Septemgrangiis, 1553 (WEALE-BOHATTA no. 1935): Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 29597

Le [Lecce], *Breviarium Liciense*. Venice: Johannes Antonius et fratres de Sabbio, 1526 (BOHATTA, *Breviere*, and AMIET, *Missels et breviaires*, no. 2347): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. B 27939

Li [Lisieux], Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1065 (B 15th c.)

Me[1] [Messina], *Missale Messanense secundum consuetudinem Gallicorum*. Messina: Henricus Alding, 31 May 1480 (*ISTC* no.: im00673200): Manchester, John Rylands University Library, 18620 (imperfect copy)

Me[2] *Ordo Missalis secundum consuetudinem Gallicorum et Messinensis ecclesie*. Venice: Johannes Emericus de Spira, 28 June 1499 (*ISTC* no.: im00673300): Catania, Biblioteca del Seminario, Inc. 1

Me[3] *Breviarium gallicanum*. Venice: for Lucantonio Giunta, 1527 (BOHATTA, *Breviere*, and AMIET, *Missels et breviaires*, no. 2240): Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Gerli 2461

Me[4] *Missale gallicanum iuxta usum Messanensis ecclesie*. Venice: Heredes Luce Antonii Junte, 1538 (WEALE-BOHATTA no. 595): Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, S.a.XXI.D.21

OSA, English Manchester, John Rylands University Library, ms. 354 (B 14th c.); M. TYSON, Hand-list of Additions to the Collection of Latin Manuscripts in the JRL, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library*, 12, 1928, p. 581-609, at 599 no. 354

Pal[1] [Palermo], Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. Vitrina 20-4 (G 12th c.)

Pal[2] Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. XIV.F.16 (M 12th c.)

Pal[3] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 288 (T 12th c.)

Par[1] [Paris], Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1023 (B 13th c.)

Par[2] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 10485 (B 15th c.)

Par[3] *Missale ad usum Parisiensem*. Paris: Thielman Kerver, 1501 (WEALE-BOHATTA no. 710): London, British Library, C.29.l.8

Ro[1] [Rouen], Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 2634 (B Saint-Lô 13th c.)

Ro[2] Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, mss. 200-1 (B 15th c.)

Ro[3] Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 2630 (B 15th c.)

Ro^{4} *Breviarium*. Rouen : Guillaume Le Talleur and Martin Morin, for Jean Richard, 1491 (*ISTC* no. : ib01177600) : London, British Library, IB.43951

Ro^{5} *Breviarium*. Rouen : Apud Societatem typographicam librorum officii ecclesiastici, 1662 (Bohatta, *Breviere*, and Amiet, *Missels et breviaires*, no. 2635) : Solesmes, Abbaye Saint-Pierre, Lle/2-38/1

Ro^{6} Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 326 (H 14th c.)

Ro^{7} Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 10549 (H 15th c.)

Ro^{8} Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 380 («Manuale» 15th c.)

Ro^{9} Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 276 (M Saint-Ouen 13th c.)

Ro^{10} Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1213 (O 15th c.)

StA [St Albans], Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud. Misc. 358 (G 12th c.)

StD [Saint-Denis], Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 17 C (B 12th c.)

StV [St Victor], Paris, *Missale*. Paris : Nicolaus Prevost, 1529 (Weale-Bohatta no. 1668) : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Vélins 243

SteW [Sainte-Waudru], Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 164 (B 14th c.)

Sa^{1} [Sarum], Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12036 (B 13th c.)

Sa^{2} London, British Library, ms. Stowe 12 (B 1322-25)

Sa^{3} London, British Library, ms. Royal 8. B. III (B 14th c.)

Sa^{4} Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Canon. liturg. 215 (B 15th c.)

Se^{1} [Sées], Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 13243 (B 15th c.)

Se^{2} Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 217 (B 15th c.)

Se^{3} Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1272 (B 15th c.)

Senl^{1} [Senlis], Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 10480 (B 13th c.)

Senl^{2} *Missale ad usum…Silvanectensis*. Paris : Desiderius Maheu, 20 Dec. 1524 (Wheale-Bohatta no. 1464) : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Vélins 204

Sen [Sens], Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1028 (B 13th c.)

Te^{1} [Teutonic], Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, ms. 872 (An *c*.1300)

Te^{2} Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, ms. 850 (An *c*.1490)

Te^{3} Trier, Stadtbibliothek, ms. 495 (An 15th c.)

Te^{4} Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 260 (B 13th c.)

Te^{5} Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, ms. AA 122 (B 15th c.)

Te^{6} *Breviarium*. [Strasbourg : Johann Prüss, after 1500?] (*ISTC* no. : ib01144300) : London, British Library, IA.1734A (*pars aestivalis* only)

Te^{7} *Breviarium*. Nuremberg : Georg Stuchs, 28 Mar. 1504 (Bohatta, *Breviere*, and Amiet, *Missels et breviaires*, no. 1748) : Le Bouveret, Abbaye Saint-Benoît, FB 8

Te^{8} Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, ms. 19004 (B 1509)

Te^{9} *Missale*. Nuremberg : Georg Stuchs, [not before 1499] (*ISTC* no. : im00643500) : Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 273

To [Toul], *Breviarium Tullense*, 1510 (Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, no. 299) : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Vélins 1664

Yo^{1} [York], Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Gough Missals 36 = Gough Liturg.1 (B *c*.1400)

Yo^{2} Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud. Misc. 84 (B early 15th c.)

Yo^{3} *Breviarium*. Venice : Johannes Hamman, for Franciscus de Egmondt, 1 May 1493 (*ISTC* no. : ib01158600; ed. S. W. Lawley, 2 vols, Durham, 1880, 1882 (Surtees Society, 71, 75)) : Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Missals 6

Yo^{4} *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis* (ed. W. G. Henderson, Durham, 1874 (Surtees Society, 59-60) : from manuscript and printed sources)

Yo^{5} London, Lambeth Palace Library (*olim* Sion College), ms. Arc. L. 40.2/L.1 (O 14th c.); N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries. I. London*, Oxford, 1969, p. 264-5.

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INTRODUCTION

None of the traditional historical sources for the history of the Crusader East reports detailed information on the liturgical use practised within the church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem during the twelfth century. Not even the cartulary recording the activities of the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, nor that of another community of canons regular, the abbey of Mount Sion, provide any detailed information on this subject[1]. Similarly, although a number of pilgrims' and contemporary historians' chronicles bear witness to the importance attached to liturgical celebrations in the Holy Land, they do not provide any specific information on the actual liturgical use adopted by the religious communities in the Latin East[2]. With no extant records attesting to how the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre was formulated, when, and by whom, it is only through an analysis of the extant manuscripts of the liturgy itself that it is possible to reconstruct events left obscure for centuries.

The purpose of this research is first to define and analyse the characteristics of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre. Secondly, and most importantly, it is to identify the liturgy's western sources; and thirdly, to

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[1] The cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre is preserved in two manuscripts, Rome, BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 7241 and 4947; first edited in *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. E. DE ROZIÈRE, Paris, 1849 (Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, ser. 1, 5), reprinted in *PL* CLV col. 1105-1262; hereafter abbreviated as DE ROZIÈRE. A revised edition of the cartulary is in *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. G. BRESC-BAUTIER, Paris, 1984 (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 15); hereafter abbreviated as BRESC-BAUTIER. For the cartulary of Mount Sion see E. REY, Chartes de l'Abbaye du Mont-Sion, in *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, sér. 5, t. 8, 1887.

[2] The patriarch's celebration of Mass at Templum Domini on Candlemas, at the Mount of Olives on Ascension day, at Mount Sion on Pentecost, and at Josaphat on the Assumption, was regulated in detail; see DE ROZIÈRE 138 no. 66; the processions performed during special feasts as well as the ceremony, on Holy Saturday, of the 'miracle' of the new fire, first mentioned in the ninth century and interdicted by Gregory IX in 1238, are described in a number of pilgrims' chronicles and by contemporary historians; see KOHLER 420 n. 1; HAMILTON 170; A. J. MACGREGOR, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum*, Collegeville, Mn., 1993.

understand the process through which these western sources were incorporated as constituent parts of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre. The result of the investigation exposes the people responsible for the liturgy's organization and development. It also clarifies important aspects of the ecclesiastical organization of Latin Jerusalem, not least the reform of the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre in 1114 and its impact on the liturgical practice of the institutions that originated within it: Templars, Hospitallers, and Carmelites. Another purpose of this research is to evaluate whether the liturgy was ever varied or adapted, and if so, to identify the reasons for such modification. A comparative analysis is conducted among liturgical manuscripts produced in Jerusalem, Acre, and Cyprus from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, enabling us to evaluate the impact on the liturgy of the changing circumstances in the Latin East in the two centuries during which this liturgical use was practised by the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Holy Land.

From the seventeenth century onwards some of the liturgical manuscripts from the Holy Land received the attention of scholars from a variety of disciplines. In 1675 Daniel van Papenbroek listed in *Acta Sanctorum* the feast for the liberation of Jerusalem and those for several bishops of Jerusalem. He extracted them from a «Matutinale temporis hiemalis secundum normam legendi in ecclesia Dominici Sepulcri», apparently copied in the fourteenth century for a community of canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre in the diocese of Utrecht[3]. Papenbroek also noted the similarity of the Carmelite liturgy to that of the Holy Sepulchre[4]. Dom Edmond Martène[5] transcribed parts of the Pontifical of Apamea from a copy of the original at the time owned by the Cistercians of Chaalis, which he received from Jean Deslions, dean of Senlis, within whose diocese the Cistercians were[6]. In 1740 Michael Le Quien listed a

[3] *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, ed. J. Bollandus, *et al.*, Antwerp, Tongerloo, Paris, and Brussels, 1643-, 8 Apr., I 789: «De beato Alberto, patriarcha Hierosolimitano», § 88; and see Kohler p. 385. To date, I have been unable to locate this manuscript.

[4] *Acta Sanctorum* § 86-88.

[5] E. Martène, *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, 1st edn, 4 vols, Lyons, 1700-1706, I p. 196-8, 259-60; II p. 202-3, 449-63; III p. 39-40, 124-7, 178-80, 299-304, 335, 353-4, 363-4, 636-8; 2nd edn, 3 vols, Antwerp, 1736-7, I col. 204-6, 262-3, 931-3; II col. 192-206, 441-2, 534-7, 558-9, 590-91, 762-7, 796, 813-15, 824, 1110-13; *id.*, *Tractatus de antiqua Ecclesiae disciplina*, 1st edn, Lyons, 1706, p. 121-2, 318-20, 370-71, 442-3; 2nd edn (forming t. III of the second edition of *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, published in 1737), col. 131-2, 324-6, 372-4, 449-51; see also Kohler p. 383-4.

[6] For the original, now London, British Library, ms. Additional 57528, and the copy, now Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 570, see Kohler p. 383-4, who considered the original manuscript lost, and HS[11] in the catalogue below.

calendar from the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, copied between 1308 and 1315[7]. A few years later, Giovan Domenico Mansi, archbishop of Lucca, published a short chronicle of the Holy Land that he had found in a breviary from the Holy Sepulchre held in the Biblioteca Arcivescovile of Lucca, although no attention was given to the manuscript itself[8]. Giovanni Maria Giovene, archpriest of the cathedral of Amalfi, published in 1828 several parts of an ordinal kept in the church of the Holy Sepulchre of Barletta, Apulia[9]. Charles Kohler[10] also devoted substantial attention to two manuscripts that present the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, namely the aforementioned Barletta manuscript and a fourteenth-century breviary kept in the Musée Condé of Chantilly, of which he had been notified by Léopold Delisle[11]. Among a list of manuscripts that Kohler had not seen the scholar mentioned a fourteenth/fifteenth-century breviary which Clément Blume, editor of *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevii*, had pointed out to him[12]. By the turn of the twentieth century, works on the Carmelite liturgy started to appear, creating further interest in the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre as the ultimate source for tracing and understanding the origin of the Carmelite liturgy. Gabriel Wessels clearly stated that the original Carmelite rite was that of the church of Jerusalem, within whose diocese the order had been founded, and in analysing its constituent parts he drew largely on the Barletta Ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre[13]. No investigation, however, was conducted on the sources of the Jerusalem rite. In the second part of his work Wessels looked at the evolution of the Carmelite rite, transcribing sections from the revised Carmelite Ordinal of Sibert van Beek[14], whose oldest exemplar, now in London, was then edited by Benedict Zimmerman[15]. Zimmerman collated the London manuscript with the ordinal of the Holy

[7] M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 3 vols, Paris, 1740, III col. 1220; the manuscript is now St Wandrille, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye, ms. P. 12; see Kohler p. 384-5, who considered the manuscript lost, and HS[16].

[8] *Stephanii Baluzii miscellaneorum liber primus* [-septimus], ed. G. D. Mansi, Lucca, 1761-4, p. 432 repr. in *RHC Occ* V p. 370; the manuscript is still in Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, ms. 5; see Kohler p. 384, who considered the manuscript lost, and HS[7].

[9] *Kalendaria vetera manuscripta aliaque monumenta ecclesiarum Apuliae et Iapygiae*, ed. G. M. Giovene, Naples, 1828, p. 1-68; the manuscript is still kept in the cathedral church of Barletta; see Kohler p. 385-500 and HS[9].

[10] C. Kohler, Un Rituel et un Bréviaire du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle), in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, t. 8, 1900-1, p. 383-500; here abbreviated as Kohler.

[11] Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1076; see Kohler p. 387-500 and HS[17].

[12] Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, mss. Palatini 185-6; Kohler p. 385-6 n. 2 and HS[18].

[13] Wessels II p. 63-71, 95-9, 118-26, 151-3, 188-95, 211-14, 242-7, 293-8, 315-20, 345-50, 377-85, 406-15.

[14] Wessels III p. 443-51, 470-5, 501-9, 537-44, 566-73, 632-8, 660-62.

Sepulchre, HS5, «prototype du rite carmélitain», as well as with two Florentine manuscript copies of the Carmelite Ordinal[16], and with the 1544 printed edition of the ordinal[17], concluding that there was a close resemblance between the use of the Holy Sepulchre and that of Paris, «as we know it from Jean Beleth»[18]. He also observed the total absence of oriental influence on the rite, as well as the composite nature of the liturgical use presented by HS5[19]. Another Carmelite Ordinal was edited by Patrick de Saint-Joseph in 1912-14[20]. The editor, however, while noticing that the text of this ordinal, datable to *c.*1263, clearly referred to older material, did not make any reference to the Carmelite connection to the Holy Sepulchre and generally no attempt was made to identify the sources of the Carmelite use. More recently, Forcadell[21] noticed the substantial influence exercised by the rite of the church of Rouen[22] on that of the Carmelites, without mentioning the Carmelite / Holy Sepulchre connection. Yet, in his systematic study of the Carmelite liturgy, Pascal Kallenberg[23] rejected Rouen in favour of Nevers on the basis of his evaluation of the saints listed in the calendar and sanctoral. A different approach was taken by Hugo Buchthal[24]. His art-historical analysis, supported by Francis Wormald's palaeographical expertise, produced the first systematic research on book production and illumination in the scriptorium of the church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in the years 1099-1187. His work has been continued by Jaroslav Folda, who looks at the production of books in Acre in the period 1275-1291[25] and who has recently compiled an overview of the entire period of art production in the crusader states, 1098-1187[26].

All these studies, while correctly identifying the western, and more specifically French, nature of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, were unable to provide a definite identification of its sources, as their

[15] London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms. 193. B. Zimmerman, *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel*, Paris, 1910 (Bibliothèque liturgique publiée par Ulysse Chevalier, 3).

[16] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. 11. ix. 68, and ms. B. 9. 1795.

[17] *Ordinale divinorum officiorum sacrae religionis Carmelitarum*. Venice: Nicolaus de Bascarinis, 1544 (London, British Library, 3395.dd.5 - destroyed).

[18] Iohannis Beleth, *Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, ed. H. Douteil, Turnhout, 1976 (CCCM, 41-41A). On Beleth see P. Masini, «Magister» Johannes Beleth: ipotesi di una traccia biografica, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 107, 1993, p. 248-59 and *Studi Medievali*, 34, 1993, p. 303-14.

[19] Zimmerman p. x-xii.

[20] Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 194; Patrick de Saint-Joseph (Rushe), Antiquum Ordinis Carmelitarum Ordinale, Saec. xiii, in *Études carmélitaines*, 2-4, 1912-14, p. 5-251.

[21] A. M. Forcadell, *Ritus Carmelitanarum Antiquae observantiae*, Rome, 1950 (Bibliotheca Carmelitana 2. Extractum ex *Ephemerides Liturgicae*), p. 9.

investigation did not go beyond the evidence provided by the presence of saints listed in the calendar and in the sanctoral of certain manuscripts of the Holy Sepulchre. In addition, these studies do not focus on the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre itself, but rather treat these liturgical books as reference material or as art objects. There is furthermore no comprehensive inventory of the extant sources, which extended beyond the decorated objects to include breviaries and above all ordinals, which, among the different types of liturgical books, provide us with the most complete information on any given liturgical use. In the debate which followed Enrico Cattaneo's paper «La vita comune dei chierici e la liturgia», François Petit remarked on the importance of the study of the ordinals for a clear understanding of different canonical communities[27]. His division of the canons

[22] On the liturgy of Rouen see A. R. Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire de Rouen*, Rouen, 1902; *Le graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au XIIIe siècle. Étude du ms. lat. 904 de la Bibliothèque nationale*, facsimile with introductory studies by H. M. F. Loriquet, J. Pothier, and A. R. Collette, 2 vols, Rouen, 1907; A. Legris, *L'école normande de chant liturgique*, Tournai, 1923; R. Delamare, Les études liturgiques normandes, in *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de Normandie*, 37, 1929, p. 151-292, at 198ss. Forcadell also pointed out the similarity between the Carmelite and the Sarum use. In fact the Sarum use, before it was given its final shape by Bishop Richard Poore (1217-28), was brought to Salisbury by Osmund of Rouen at the time of his appointment as bishop of Salisbury in 1078. He rearranged the customs of the church of Salisbury and introduced some variations according to the advice of John of Ivry, bishop of Avranches (1060-67) and later archbishop of Rouen (1067-79); Forcadell p. 9; *Missale ad usum...ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. H. Dickinson, Oxford and London, 1861-83, p. iv; K. Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*, Aarhus, 1993, p. 244. On the Sarum liturgy see also *The Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, Oxford, 1916; *Breviarium ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols, Cambridge, 1879-86; *Processionale ad usum insignis ac praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. W. G. Henderson, Leeds, 1882; a description of Osmund's consuetudinary is in D. Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers, as seen in St Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury*, 3 vols, London, 1849-53, III,2 p. 1-74; L. C. Sheppard, Rites, English Medieval, in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Catholic University of America, 18 vols, New York, 1967-88, XII p. 519-22.

[23] P. Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae: investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum*, Rome, 1962 (Textus et Studia Carmelitana, 5), p. 92-100; hereafter abbreviated as Kallenberg.

[24] H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957; hereafter abbreviated as Buchthal.

[25] J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291*, Princeton, NJ, 1976; hereafter abbreviated as Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*.

[26] J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187*, Cambridge, 1995; hereafter abbreviated as Folda, *The Art*.

[27] E. Cattaneo, La vita comune dei chierici e la liturgia, in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII, Atti della settimana di studio: Mendola, settembre 1959*, Milan, 1962 (Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali, 3), p. 241-72; the debate at p. 274. In recent years several ordinals have been edited by Henry Bradshaw Society and in the series «Spicilegium Friburgense».

regular into three groups according to their liturgical practice concords with Dereine's view of the study of canonical communities which « devrait être avant tout une histoire de la liturgie »[28] and specifically mentions canonical communities of Jerusalem. There were those who spread the Roman liturgy; those who followed the liturgy of their local cathedral, such as the Premonstratensians of Magdeburg or the Canons of Mont-Sion and of the Temple of Jerusalem, and, we can add, like the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Carmelites. Finally there were those who developed a liturgy of their own, such as the Premonstratensians or the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. As Petit pointed out, the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, while utilising the Gregorian Sacramentary and Antiphonal, gave to their liturgy a « couleur merveilleuse par l'introduction des couleurs liturgiques, par le jeu des stations, par les chants de procession et sont arrivés à imprimer aux lectures et aux chants de l'Église une vie toute nouvelle ». In this description of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre the two fundamental components of liturgy are clearly defined: the ritual and ceremonial part, relating to the processions, the code of acting, dressing, gesture, and use of objects, as well as the equally important chant repertory, the selection of singing during the mass and office. While they are both essential in the definition of a liturgical practice, it is the chant repertory that confers distinctiveness on a liturgical use[29]. Therefore, only by using a method of comparative liturgical study that allows a comparison of the chant repertory of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre against the widest possible range of western liturgical uses, is it possible to identify the western sources of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Method

The liturgical books of the Holy Sepulchre, and the ordinals in particular, are the only documents that preserve, in any detail, the practices developed within the church of Jerusalem and its diocese. Their content is partly derivative, and partly completely original. The primary purpose of the present work is concerned with the first point, that is to say with the identification of those liturgical components

[28] C. Dereine, Chanoines, in *DHGE* XII, 1953, col. 353-405, at 370.

[29] I will not, in the present study, be dwelling upon the ceremonial aspect of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, which, thanks to its « marvellous colour », has already received some attention; see, for example, A. Schönfelder, Die Prozessionen der Lateiner in Jerusalem zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge, in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 32, 1911, p. 578-97, based on a fourteenth-century ordinal now in Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, ms. I Qu. 175 (HSN), which was used by the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre of Neisse.

that were derived from western liturgical practice[30]. The means by which it is possible today to identify such links lay in the analysis of the chant repertory.

As Pierre-Marie Gy points out[31], in the Western Catholic Church there persisted from the ninth to the fifteenth century a degree of local variation in both the mass and the office chant repertory. This variation existed despite the efforts of Charlemagne and his collaborators, Alcuin and Benedict of Aniane, to develop a uniform imperial liturgy based on that of Rome, to complement their plans for a reformed Frankish clergy. Even after Benedict of Aniane and Alcuin's additions to the official Papal Sacramentary that was received from Rome and deemed to be lacking in specificity, local Frankish churches also made their own additions to meet their own local needs. Each church added the feasts for its proper and regional saints to the Roman calendar and they put together their own collection of votive masses, and the Roman Canon received local variants, in particular the lists of saints mentioned in the prayers *Communicantes*, *Nobis quoque*, and *Libera nos*. The collection of Alleluia verses for the twenty-three Sundays after the Octave of Pentecost is of relevance for us since in the Roman model they were not arranged in any specific order, but were individually fixed in each diocese or religious order. In contrast to the Gregorian Sacramentary and the mass antiphonal (gradual), the office antiphonal (antiphonal) never attained the status of an official liturgical book, due to the impossibility of unifying such an extremely diverse office repertory and using it to aid the unification of the Empire. In fact in the antiphonals, and later in the breviaries, virtually every office of the liturgical year presents an original configuration determined by a long-established local tradition. As Huglo points out, the driving force behind these office books was an attachment to local practices rather than desire for unity[32]. Consequently, the arrangement of the antiphons and responsories in the repertory of office chants (antiphonal) shows even greater local differences than does the mass repertory. Once established, these local

[30] The original liturgy developed to commemorate the liberation of Jerusalem (on 15 July in the liturgical books) is studied in detail in A. Linder, The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem, in *Medieval Studies*, 52, 1990, 110-31.

[31] P.-M. Gy, La liturgie des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Ruf, in *Le monde des chanoines (xie-xive s.)*, Toulouse, 1989 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 24), p. 181-91, at 182.

[32] M. Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Turnhout, 1988 (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 52), p. 86ss and P.-M. Gy, Histoire de la liturgie en Occident jusqu'au Concile de Trente, in *L'église en prière*, ed. A. G. Martimort, Paris, 1983, p. 57-73, at 66-9.

usages remained stable throughout the Middle Ages, at least down to the sixteenth century.

From the beginning of this century, liturgists, mainly Benedictines, have been working towards the identification of these local liturgical variations. In particular, Dom Gabriel Beyssac (1877-1965)[33], who in the course of his life investigated some 10,000 manuscripts and early printed books, discovered that most variants occur in the series of responsories and versicles for Matins at certain times of the liturgical year, namely: the four Sundays of Advent and the Christmas Ember Days, the three nights before Easter or Triduum Sacrum (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday) and Easter Day itself, the feasts of All Saints (1 Nov.) and All Souls (2 Nov.), as well as the Office for the dedication of the church. For these feasts the canonical office has nine lessons, each correlated with a responsory and a versicle, while the monastic office has twelve. To recognize the relationship between different liturgical uses, Beyssac developed a numerically-based methodology, allocating a number for each different responsory and versicle he encountered. This allows each sequence of nine or twelve responsories, each corresponding to a specific use, to be expressed in a numerical sequence. The sequences are then listed in numerical order, allowing the identification of the relationship between them. In addition, Beyssac applied this system to the Alleluia verses of the Mass of the Sundays after the Octave of Pentecost, as Walter Howard Frere had noted that is it possible to determine the liturgical use of a sacramentary or missal through their analysis[34]. Following in Beyssac's path, Victor Leroquais fruitfully applied Beyssac's method of identification while preparing the catalogues of liturgical manuscripts in French libraries that he published between 1924 and 1943. The lists which Leroquais compiled of the responsories for Advent, the Triduum Sacrum, the office of the dead, and for the Alleluia verses can be consulted, in manuscript form, in the Bibliothèque nationale de France[35]. He also developed a method for the identification of the use of the Office of the Virgin in breviaries and books of hours[36] that had originally been

33 On Beyssac see F. Combaluzier, In memoriam Gabrielis Beyssac, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 82, 1968, p. 47-53.

34 W. H. Frere, *Graduale Sarisburiense*, London, 1894, p. i; see D. Hiley, Post-Pentecost Alleluias in Medieval British Liturgies, in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy. Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. S. Rankin and D. Hiley, Oxford, 1993, p. 145-74, at 145.

35 Paris, BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3160, 3161, 3164, and 3163.

36 Paris, BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3162.

detected by Falconer Madan[37]. In the following years more works on the identification of local uses appeared. Volumes V and VI of René-Jean Hesbert's Corpus Antiphonalium Officii[38] concentrate on the series of responsories and versicles for Matins of the four Sundays of Advent and the Christmas Ember Days; in 1986 they were computerized by Knud Ottosen[39]. Dom Le Roux (Solesmes) published in 1979 his own data on the responsories for Matins of the Triduum Sacrum[40], reorganized in 1995 by Pierre-Marie Gy[41]. Heinrich Husmann published the most comprehensive repertory of post-Pentecost alleluias[42], while Michel Huglo attempted an initial evaluation of these lists[43]. Recently David Hiley, in providing data on the post-Pentecost alleluias from medieval British sources, has also produced a useful introduction to and explanation of the comparative method involved in this kind of research[44]. Unfortunately most of Beyssac's material is still unpublished: only his work on the office of the dead has been computerized by Knud Ottosen in recent years[45].

Beyssac's extremely clear and well-organized work on the variants that occur in the series of responsories and versicles for Matins at the specific times of the liturgical year listed above have proved crucial to the present work in three ways. Once I had identified the relevant liturgical data from the earliest and most complete manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre, namely the Angelica Sacramentary (HS^1) and

37 F. Madan, Documents and Records. A. Hours of the Virgin Mary (Tests for Localization), in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 2nd quarter III/26, 1920, p. 40-44, repr. in *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, Oxford, 1927, p. 21-9.

38 R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols, Rome, 1963-79 (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes, 7-12).

39 K. Ottosen, *L'antiphonaire latin au moyen âge. Réorganisation des séries des répons de l'avent classés par R.-J. Hesbert*, Rome, 1986 (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Extra Seriem).

40 R. Le Roux, Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Pâques, in *Études Grégoriennes*, 18, 1979, p. 157-76.

41 P.-M. Gy, Les répons de matines des trois nuits avant Pâques et la géographie liturgique du moyen âge latin, in *Requirentes modos musicos. Mélanges offerts à Dom Jean Claire*, ed. D. Saulnier, Solesmes, 1995, p. 29-39.

42 H. Husmann, Studien zur geschichtlichen Stellung der Liturgie Kopenhagens, in *Dansk Aarbog for Musikforskning*, 2, 1962, p. 3-58; *id.*, Die Oster- und Pfingstalleluia der Kopenhagener Liturgie und ihre historischen Beziehungen, in *Dansk Aarbog for Musikforskning*, 4, 1964-5, p. 3-62.

43 M. Huglo, Les listes alléluiatiques dans les témoins du graduel grégorien, in *Speculum Musicae Artis, Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann*, ed. H. Becker and R. Gerlach, Munich, 1970, p. 219-27.

44 Hiley, *Post-Pentecost*, p. 145-59.

45 K. Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*, Aarhus, 1993.

the Vatican Ordinal (HS5), consultation of Beyssac's material allowed me to locate other manuscripts of the same use. Secondly, I was able to verify the adoption of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre by the Templars, Hospitallers, and Carmelites. Finally, and most importantly, the way Beyssac arranged his material allowed me to identify, through comparative work, the sources of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre itself. It is important to note here that I was able to compare data extracted from various offices included in the manuscripts of the Holy Sepulchre. While it is true that the identity or similarity of a specific office between different sources is clearly evidence of some relationship (whose nature has then to be investigated), what is true with regard to an office does not necessarily apply to a liturgical use in its entirety. As Hiley points out[46], liturgies are composed of layers of material, each, in a different degree, subject to modification and renovation. This is particularly true for the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, which, as will be shown, originated from multiple sources. The relatively small amount of published data is limited both in quality (only a few offices have been analysed, while more offices may turn out to be as distinctive as the ones generally taken into consideration) and quantity (most studies focus on sources extracted from a limited number of manuscripts). Beyssac's unpublished data extracted from thousands of manuscripts and early printed books therefore proved essential.

Selection of the Sources

The present work focusses on liturgical manuscripts produced in Jerusalem, Acre, Caesarea, Tyre, Antioch, and Cyprus for the cathedral church and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, for members of the royal family of Jerusalem, and for those religious institutions which adopted the liturgical use of the cathedral church of Jerusalem[47]. Among the manuscripts used for comparative purposes is a fourteenth-century copy of the ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre which was used by the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre of Neisse, in Silesia[48]. This chapter was founded by the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre of Miechów (itself founded in *c.*1162) who had been invited to Neisse

[46] Hiley, *Post-Pentecost*, p. 147-8.

[47] A thirteenth-century French copy of the «Officium in festivitate sancte Hierusalem», consisting of f. 134-5 of London, British Library, ms. Additional 8927, which contains texts of Fulcher of Chartres, Walter the Chancellor, and Raymond of Aguilers, is transcribed and analysed in A. Linder, *The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem*, p. 110-31. This liturgical fragment is not included in the present catalogue.

by Jaroslaus de Silesia (†1201), bishop of Breslau (1199-1201)[49]. It was suppressed in *c.*1812 and twenty of their manuscripts were brought to the library of Breslau (now Wrocław), where the Royal Prussian High Commission for the suppression of chapters and monasteries in Silesia was gathering the collections[50]. The calendar and sanctoral contain entries proper to the church of Prague, such as Translatio s Wenceslai (4 Mar.), Adalbertus (23 Apr.), bishop of Prague, Sigismundus rex (2 May), Stanislaus ep (8 May), Wintencius (6 June, i.e. Vincentius of Bevagna; see *BS* XII 1138-9), Vitus (15 June) in red, and with an octave, Procopius (4 July), Benedictine abbot of Sázava, Bohemia (*BS* X 1167-73), Passio s Ludmile (16 Sept.), the tenth-century wife of the duke of Bohemia and grandmother of Wenceslaus, Wenceslaus (28 Sept.), with an octave, and Translatio s Ludmile (10 Nov.), whose body was translated to Prague in 926. The additions to the calendar of saints such as Thomas Aquinas (7 Mar.) and Dominicus (5 Aug.) suggest that the manuscript was copied from a late-twelfth-century exemplar from Bohemia. This suggests a time of composition after 1335, when Casimir III, king of Poland (1333-70) renounced the area of Silesia to King John of Bohemia (1310-46) and the priory of Neisse struck a union with the houses of the order of the Holy Sepulchre of Bohemia, thereby releasing itself from Miechów's influence[51].

[48] Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, ms. I Qu. 175. A slightly later inscription in a humanist hand on the front endleaf reads: «Conventus Cruciferorum cum duplici rubea cruce Nissensis» and «Conventus Nissensis»; see Cottineau II p. 2046; Krämer II p. 595-6; A. Rüther, Between International Horizon and Regional Boundary: the Bohemian Crosiers of the Red Star in Silesia, in *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Sarnowsky, Aldershot, 1999, 103-14.

[49] Eubel I p. 567. P. David, *Les sources de l'histoire de Pologne à l'époque des Piasts (963-1386)*, Paris, 1934, p. 204.

[50] J. Staender, Die Handschriften der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesien*, 33, 1899, p. 1-66, at 52-3.

[51] Z. Hereswitha, *Inleiding tot de Geschiedenis van het Kloosterwezen in de Nederlanden. A: II: 1: F: Orde van het Heilig-Graf*, Brussels, 1975 (Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique, numéro spécial, 15), p. 75.

This work does not discuss the liturgical manuscripts of the Teutonic order[52]. The Teutonic order was founded at Acre in the aftermath of Henry VI's crusade in 1198 and was confirmed by Innocent III with a bull dated 19 February 1199. Despite modelling itself on the Templars and on the Hospitallers, the Teutonic order was granted permission to adopt the Dominican liturgy in 1257, retaining only some of the Jerusalem feasts in its calendar[53]. My study also excludes the liturgical manuscripts of other religious military orders not founded in the Holy Land: the Spanish military orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, and Montesa[54], the order of knights of the Holy Sepulchre[55], and other Hospitaller institutions such as the order of St Lazarus[56]. The identification and description of liturgical manuscripts from these orders must await further studies, which it is hoped will be facilitated by the present work.

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[52] On the history of the order see I. Sterns, The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, 6 vols, Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969-89, V p. 315-78. For a list of Teutonic liturgical manuscripts see Ottosen, *The Responsories*, p. 109 and 196; for the fifteenth-century editions of the Teutonic Breviary see *GW* no. 5234, 5234/10, 5235, 5236, 5237, 5238. For the sixteenth-century editions of the Teutonic Breviary see Bohatta, *Breviere*, no. 1747-50 and Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, no. 1748-1748B. For the sixteenth-century editions of the Teutonic Missal see Weale-Bohatta and Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, no. 1936-7. Data extracted from the Teutonic use are generally provided in Chapter V for comparative purposes, to highlight their difference from the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre.

[53] The Dominican order received its approbation, as an order of canons regular, in two bulls of 22 December 1216 issued by Honorius III (1216-27), and its constitution was laid down at the General Chapters of the order in 1220 and 1221; see P. Gleeson, Dominican liturgical manuscripts from before 1254, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 42, 1972, p. 81-135; Bonniwell p. 10; Ottosen, *The Responsories*, p. 239. In 1257 the Teutonic knights were granted permission to use the Dominican liturgy by Alexander IV (1254-61); see Bonniwell p. 196.

[54] The Spanish orders of Calatrava and Alcántara belonged to the *ordo monasticus*, and were placed under the Cistercian observance (Morimondo) since the time of their foundation; see Legras-Lemaître p. 83. On the order of Calatrava see B. Schwenk, *Calatrava. Entstehung und Frühgeschichte eines spanischen Ritterordens zisterziensischer Observanz im 12. Jahrhundert*, Münster, 1992 (Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, II/28); and in general see K. Elm, Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters, in *"Militia Christi" e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII. Atti della undecima settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto – 1 settembre 1989*, Milan, 1992 (Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 13), p. 477-518, at 482 n. 17.

[55] On the history of the order of knights of the Holy Sepulchre, founded in the fourteenth century, see J.-P. de Gennes, *Les Chevaliers du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Cholet en Anjou, 1995 and K. Elm, Kanoniker und Ritter vom Heiligen Grab, in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann, Sigmaringen, 1980 (Vorträge und Forschungen herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, 26), p. 141-71.

[56] M. Barber, The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades, in *Catholic Historical Review*, 80, 1994, p. 439-56 repr. in *Crusaders and Heretics, 12th-14th Centuries*, Aldershot, 1995, XIII.

PART ONE

CHAPTER I

Twelfth-century Jerusalem

On 17 November 1095, at the Council of Clermont, Pope Urban II launched the First Crusade, calling for the liberation of the Holy Land[1]. Four years later, on 15 July 1099, the crusaders' journey culminated in the conquest of Jerusalem and the subsequent establishment of Latin rule over Palestine and Syria for almost two centuries. As Bernard Hamilton points out, « the chief aim of the Crusade in the view of the participants was to liberate the church of God in Jerusalem »[2]. Once this had been achieved, and once the Western Catholic Church had been established throughout the re-conquered territories, the aim of the Catholic clergy, fully supported by the Frankish laity, was « that of making the earthly Jerusalem a symbol of the heavenly city ». As most of the holy places were in ruins when the crusaders arrived in Palestine, an extensive programme of restoration was immediately undertaken. Services were re-established at the great shrine churches of Jerusalem, at the basilica of Nazareth, the shrine of St George at Lydda, those of St John at Sebastia, the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor, and Our Lady of Tortosa. In addition, not only were new cathedrals built in almost all the Latin bishoprics, but new churches and chapels were also erected in the newly conquered cities, in castles, and on several rural estates[3]. In conjunction with this building programme came the endowment of

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[1] *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade. Actes du colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995) organisé et publié avec le concours du Conseil Régional d'Auvergne*, Rome, 1997 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 236).

[2] B. HAMILTON, The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom, in *Catholic Historical Review*, 80, 1994, p. 695-713, at 698ss.

[3] B. HAMILTON, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church*, London, 1980, p. 361-2. Hereafter abbreviated as HAMILTON.

clergy to serve these churches, ensuring that the liturgy was regularly celebrated. For example, the number of Latin dioceses in the patriarchate of Antioch increased from five in 1110 to fourteen by 1135, the year of the death of the first patriarch, Bernard of Valence. By the end of the first kingdom in 1187, thirteen Frankish dioceses had been established in the patriarchate of Jerusalem[4]. As Hamilton points out, « the willingness of the Frankish land-owning class to spend so generously on the establishment of the Latin church may not be a reliable index of their piety, but it does accurately reflect the importance which they attached to this work: the public performance of the Latin liturgy in the churches of Syria was the justification of the crusading movement »[5].

The church of the Holy Sepulchre was endowed with twenty secular canons by Godfrey of Bouillon in July 1099[6]. By 1114, the canons were reformed, becoming regular and conforming to the ideals of community life without personal wealth that were being promoted with new vigour by the reformed papacy[7]. The adherence of the Latin

[4] On the establishment of the Latin church at Antioch see HAMILTON p. 18-51; T. ASBRIDGE, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130*, Woodbridge, 2000, p. 195-213; for Jerusalem see HAMILTON p. 52-85.

[5] HAMILTON p. 362.

[6] WT I p. 430-1 (§ 9, 9): « [Godefridus Bullionius] nam protinus in ecclesia Dominici Sepulchri et Templi Domini canonicos instituit eisque ampla beneficia, que prebendas vocant, simulque et honesta domicilia circa predictas deo amabiles ecclesias assignavit, ordinem et institutionem servans, quas magne et amplissime a piis principibus fundate ultra montes observant ecclesie ». ALBERT OF AIX, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *RHC Occ* IV p. 265-713, at 490; H. E. MAYER, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte in Königreich Jerusalem*, Stuttgart, 1977, p. 1-2; HAMILTON p. 14; K. ELM, Canonici regolari del S. Sepolcro, in *DIP* II p. 147-51; also Santo Sepolcro, in *DIP* VIII p. 934-8.

[7] On the reformed papacy and in particular on its consequences for the liturgical framework see E. CATTANEO, La vita comune dei chierici e la liturgia, in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII, Atti della settimana di studio: Mendola, settembre 1959*, Milan, 1962 (Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali, 3), p. 241-72; *id.*, La liturgia nella riforma gregoriana, in *Chiesa e Riforma nella spiritualità del sec. XI*, Todi, 1968, p. 171-90; F. PETIT, *La réforme des prêtres au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1968. The many communities of canons regular had different origin, and this diversity is reflected in their legislation. Only the study of the manuscripts containing the rules, the liturgy, and the customs of individual centres of canonical life allows the reconstruction of their ecclesiastical and liturgical activities. A list of reference material relating to this type of source can be found in H. R. PHILIPPEAU, A propos du coutumier de Norwich, in *Scriptorium*, 3, 1949, p. 295-302; C. DEREINE, Coutumiers et ordinaires de chanoines réguliers, in *Scriptorium*, 5, 1951, p. 107-13; and *id.*, Addenda, in *Scriptorium*, 13, 1959, p. 244-6. Milis pointed out very clearly how the customaries of canonical orders are the necessary supplement to the rule of St Augustine, which is at the core of their observance, but in its content too concise to serve alone as a model of religious life; see *Constitutiones canonicorum regularium ordinis Arroasiensis*, ed. L. MILIS, Turnhout, 1970 (CCCM, 20), p. lxx.

Church of Jerusalem to these new principles was to be a highly influential factor in the shaping of the ecclesiastical structure of the Holy Land[8]. Canons regular also occupied the cathedral churches of Nazareth, Bethlehem, Tripoli, and Hebron, and the shrine churches of Mount Sion, the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, and the Templum Domini in Jerusalem. Moreover, the newly founded military orders also received the same regular canonical organization. To judge from surviving evidence, the diocese of Jerusalem must have observed the canonical principle of diocesan uniformity, formulated in 517 at the Council of Gerona, a custom which, promoting a centralizing attitude, was particularly suited to the ideals of the reformed papacy. According to the principle « Ut institutio missarum sicut in metropolitana ecclesia agitur ita in Dei nomine in omnibus provinciis tam ipsius misse ordo quam psallendi vel ministrandi consuetudo servetur »[9], a new foundation generally conformed its office to that of the cathedral within whose diocese the foundation was established. The application of this principle within the diocese of Jerusalem is shown by the canonical organization of the Templars and Hospitallers, as attested to by their rule and statutes, and by the adoption of the liturgy of the cathedral church of the Holy Sepulchre, as attested to by their extant manuscripts. It is also witnessed by the adoption of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre by the Carmelites.

The implementation by the patriarchate of this substantial programme of ecclesiastical organization during the twelfth century required two major practical problems to be overcome: that of the

Other recent studies on canonical communities include K. BOSL, *Regularkanoniker (Augustinerchorherren) und Seelsorge in Kirche und Gesellschaft des europäischen 12. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1979 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Abhandlungen, n. F. 86); *Le monde des chanoines (XIe-XIVe s.)*, Toulouse, 1989 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 24); J. CHÂTILLON, *Le mouvement canonial au Moyen âge. Réforme de l'Église, spiritualité et culture.* Études réunies par P. SICARD, Turnhout, 1992 (Bibliotheca Victorina, 3); *Des clercs au service de la réforme: études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen*, ed. M. ARNOUX, Paris, 2000 (Bibliotheca Victorina, 11); *L'histoire des moines, chanoines réguliers et frères mendiants au Moyen Âge: sources et méthodes*, ed. A. VAUCHEZ and C. CABY, Turnhout, 2003 (L'Atelier du Médiéviste, 9).

[8] HAMILTON p. 93.

[9] *Collectio tripartita*, A. 2.32.c.1; see Gratian, *De Consecratione*, 2.31, ed. E. A. FRIEDBERG, *Corpus juris canonici: I Decretum magistri Gratiani; II Decretalium collectiones*, 2nd edn, Leipzig, 1879-81, repr. Graz, 1959, I 1324,16.

availability of an adequate number of clergymen to administer and officiate in the old and new churches in the kingdom and that of a sufficient number of books for liturgical performance. Jonathan Riley-Smith points out that while most crusaders returned to Europe once the campaign was over, or left as soon as they could, approximately one third of those known to have settled more permanently in Syria were churchmen[10], mostly simple priests or chaplains to noble households, who had accompanied their lords on crusade[11]. It is from among these men that the administrators of the newly established Latin Church in the East were chosen. If the establishment of the early Latin church, as well as the appointment of its ministers, was ultimately achieved within a state of precarious stability due to the constant military and political upheavals that characterized the two centuries of western settlement in the East, the same applied to the provision of service books. I do not refer so much to the difficulties involved in the physical production of these books as to the content itself. The creation of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre was primarily determined by the survival of individual clergymen and their books, rather than by deliberate selection of rites.

A — Templars, Hospitallers, and Carmelites in the Holy Land

Problems related to the safety and care of pilgrims, as well as of the resident population of the kingdom and principalities, stand at the origin of the military orders, the Templars and the Hospitallers. The Templar order was founded in Jerusalem in 1120 and subsequently confirmed by Innocent II in 1139, while the Hospitallers, as a religious order, had already received papal confirmation in 1113[12]. Both orders were given a canonical organization. According to the liturgical custom which we have seen was endorsed within the patriarchate of Jerusalem, a new canonical foundation generally conformed its office to that of the cathedral within whose diocese the

[10] Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 19.

[11] Hamilton p. 114; on the senior Latin clergy of the Frankish states in the twelfth century see Hamilton p. 113-36.

[12] On the history of the Templar order see M. Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994; on the early years see also A. Luttrell, The Earliest Templars, in *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. M. Balard, Paris, 1996, p. 193-202. On the history of the order of St John see J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights*; on the early years see also R. Hiestand, Die Änfange der Johanniter, in *Die geistlichen Ritterordern Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellman, Sigmaringen, 1980, p. 31-80.

foundation was established. The Templar rule, both in its French and Latin versions, clearly states that the order should conform to the liturgical use of the cathedral church of the Holy Sepulchre. The French version declares:

> «De toutes les autre choses que afierent au servise nostre Seignor doit chascun [faire] au meus qu'il porra segon l'aisse de la maison et ensi come nostre ordenaires, lequel fu estrais de l'ordenaire del Sepulcre, le devise»[13].

The Latin version states:

> «matutinas et omne servitium integrum secundum canonicam institutionem ac regularium doctorum sancte civitatis consuetudinem pio ac puro affectu audire universaliter studeatis»[14].

The Ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre, HS[5], used by the Templars in Jerusalem, and the Breviary HS[14], used by the Templars in Acre, confirm that in both Jerusalem and Acre the Templars retained a close link with the Holy Sepulchre. It was only in their houses in Europe that such link was to be discontinued. In fact two extant manuscripts used by Templar communities which settled in Modena and in Cambridgeshire show that they practised the liturgy of the diocese where these houses were based, with no reference to the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem[15]. This points towards a less centralized approach in liturgical matters, in line with the administrative organization of the order itself.

The Hospitaller rule, composed at some time between 1120 and 1153, whilst not directly referring to the use of the Holy Sepulchre,

[13] H. de Curzon, *La règle du Temple*, Paris, 1886 (Société de l'histoire de France), p. 206.

[14] G. Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel*, Freiburg i. B., 1908 (Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, 3), p. 135. A new edition of the Templar rule, in its Latin and French version, has been established on a larger number of manuscripts by S. Cerrini, *Une expérience neuve au sein de la spiritualité médiévale: L'Ordre du Temple (1119/20-1314). Étude et édition des règles latine et française*, Thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris - Paris IV - Sorbonne, 1998, which will appear within the series CCCM. See also S. Cerrini, Nuovi percorsi templari tra i manoscritti latini e francesi della regola, in *I Templari in Piemonte, dalla storia al mito. Atti del convegno, Torino, 20 ottobre 1994*, Turin, 1995, p. 35-56; and *ead.*, La tradition manuscrite de la règle du Temple, in *Autour de la première croisade*, p. 203-18.

[15] C. Dondi, Manoscritti liturgici dei Templari e degli Ospitalieri: le nuove prospettive aperte dal Sacramentario Templare di Modena (Arch. Capitolare, ms. O.II.13), in *I Templari, la guerra e la santità*, ed. S. Cerrini and F. Cardini, Rimini, 2000, p. 85-131.

addresses the brothers as «clerici», or «clercs» in its French version[16], therefore implying that they were canons, not monks. Moreover, references to feasts with an office with nine lessons, therefore canonical, are found in the 1239 *Usances* of the order[17], as well as in the statutes issued by the General Chapter held at Limassol on 30 September 1294[18]. Unfortunately no liturgical manuscripts from the early Hospitaller communities of Jerusalem and Acre seem to have survived. Nevertheless, all the extant manuscripts and early printed books made for and used by various Hospitaller communities outside the Holy Land present the liturgical use of the Holy Sepulchre[19]. It is therefore safe to infer that, like the Templars, the Hospitallers of Jerusalem adopted the liturgical use of the patriarchal see. Moreover, unlike the Templars and like the Carmelites, liturgical conformity to the Church of Jerusalem through the centuries continued to be perceived by the Hospitallers as an important unifying factor and integral part of the order's heritage. The relationship between the central headquarters of the order and the various houses is set therefore within the traditional structure in place within most religious orders. Following a pattern established by the Benedictine community of Cluny, by the twelfth century it was common liturgical custom for the daughter-houses of a foundation established in another diocese to adopt the office of the mother-house, not that of the diocese within which the new house was settled[20].

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[16] *Cart. Hosp.* no. 70. The early manuscripts containing the rule of the Hospitallers were lost in 1291. Later thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts containing the rule survive in several French and Latin manuscripts; for a discussion on the dating and different stages of composition see E. NASALLI ROCCA, Origine et évolution de la règle et des statuts de l'ordre hiérosolymitain de S. Jean (auj. dit de Malte), in *AOSMM*, 19, 1961, p. 41-5 and 119-25; 20, 1962, p. 45-50 and RILEY-SMITH, *The Knights*, p. 46-51.

[17] *Cart. Hosp.* no. 2213; LEGRAS-LEMAÎTRE p. 82.

[18] *Cart. Hosp.* no. 4259; LEGRAS-LEMAÎTRE p. 82.

[19] C. DONDI, Hospitaller Liturgical Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, in *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 14 (= t. 75), 2003, p. 225-56. In this article I list eighty extant Hospitaller liturgical manuscripts, five editions of the Hospitaller Breviary and four editions of the Hospitaller Missal, printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

[20] After the Cluniac reform, Benedictine monasteries founded or reformed by Cluny would conform to the office of Cluny, their mother-house; see P.-M. GY, La liturgie des chanoines de Saint Ruf, in *Le monde des chanoines (xi^{e}-xiv^{e} s.)*, Toulouse, 1989 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 24), p. 181-91, at 184-5. The case of Marbach (Alsace) whose daughter-houses spread the office of Strasbourg in Switzerland has been analysed in detail by P. WITTWER, Quellen zur Liturgie der Chorherren von Marbach, in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 32, 1990, p. 307-61.

The Carmelites made their appearance in the Holy Land as a group of *conversi* living a life of prayer and penitence on Mount Carmel towards the end of the twelfth century. At some time between 1206 and 1214 they received a rule from Albert of Vercelli, patriarch of Jerusalem (1205-14), which was later confirmed by Honorius III (1216-27) in 1226[21]. When the Carmelites, driven from the Holy Land by the Saracen invasions, began to settle in Europe from about 1240, their hermitic rule became unsuitable to their new conditions and a new rule was drawn up for them by the Dominicans Cardinal Hugh of Saint-Cher and William bishop of Antarad (Tartous, in Syria), and approved by Innocent IV (1243-54) in 1248[22]. The new constitutions, based on those of the Dominicans, changed the status of the Carmelite order from a hermitic to a coenobitic way of life. The only witness to this period of the order is the «Antiquum Ordinis Carmelitarum Ordinale saec. xiii» (Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 194), written in about 1263, which unquestionably shows an adaptation to the Dominican rite[23]. In 1312 the Carmelite Ordinal was revised by Sibert van Beek to reflect the original liturgy of the order, that of the Holy Sepulchre[24]. Carmelite liturgical manuscripts are not included in the present catalogue,

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[21] E. FRIEDMAN, *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel. A Study in Carmelite Origins*, Rome, 1979 (Institutum Historicum Teresianum. Studia, 1), p. 170-97; A. T. JOTISCHKY, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States*, Philadelphia, 1995, p. 119-38 and V. MOSCA, *Alberto Patriarca di Gerusalemme: Tempo-Vita-Opera*, Rome, 1996 (Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana, 20). On the question of the Carmelite liturgical observance, while correctly stating that it conformed exactly to the practice of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Jotischky concludes with the rather unintelligible, and regrettably wrong, assertion that «the offices are thus those of the Augustinian canons throughout western Europe». The assertion is rectified in A. T. JOTISCHKY, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: the Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2002, at 32ss.

[22] BONNIWELL p. 196-7 and A. T. JOTISCHKY, Gerard of Nazareth, John Bale and the Origins of the Carmelite Order, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46, 1995, p. 214-36, at 216.

[23] See Introduction note 20.

[24] ZIMMERMAN p. x-xii and BONNIWELL p. 198. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century exemplars of van Beek's Ordinal are Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. γ W 5 17; London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms. 193; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. 11. ix. 68, and ms. B. 9. 1795; Koblenz, Staatsarchiv, ms. Abt. 701, Nr. 120; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, ms. lit. 120; Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. Dep. mus. 2; and Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 121. Extracts were printed in WESSELS III p. 443-51, 470-5, 501-9, 537-44, 566-73, 632-8, 660-2.

since they have been described by Pascal Kallenberg[25]. However, it will be necessary occasionally to refer to Carmelite sources, for the Carmelites retained most of the feasts of Jerusalem in their calendar and, most importantly, the chant repertory of the Holy Sepulchre.

B — The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre

The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre is the practice adopted by the Latin Western Catholics after they had settled in Jerusalem as a result of the first crusade, in 1099. The liturgy originated within the cathedral church of the Holy Sepulchre, the patriarchal see, and it was consequently adopted by all secular religious institutions within the patriarchate[26]. It did not, apparently, extend to the patriarchate of Antioch, as can be ascertained from an extant fragment of a liturgical manuscript from Antioch[27]. The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre is completely Western, and more precisely Gallo-Roman[28]. This should not come as a surprise, since it was derived from the Western liturgical books brought to Jerusalem by the clergymen who accompanied the crusaders and was meant to be practised by and for westerners. However, it cannot be traced back to the liturgical use practised in

[25] Kallenberg. Also J. J. Boyce, Medieval Carmelite Office Manuscripts, a Liturgical Inventory, in *Carmelus*, 33, 1986, p. 17-34. For printed editions of the Carmelite Breviary see Bohatta, *Breviere*, no. 1539-74 and Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, no. 1539-1574N; for printed editions of the Carmelite Missal see Weale-Bohatta no. 1884-1912* and Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, no. 1884-1912D; also Pancratius Lenferink, *Bibliography of the Printed Carmelite Breviaries and Missals*, Rome, 1955; for printed editions of the Carmelite Hours see H. Bohatta, *Bibliographie des Livres d'heures (Horae B.M.V.), Officia, Hortuli animae, Coronae B.M.V., Rosaria und Cursus B.M.V. des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd rev. edn, Vienna, 1924, no. 1460 (Gent: Arend de Keysere, *c.*1487); no. 1461 (Lyons: [San Busignan Gorgoni], 18 May 1516; copy in San Marino, California, Huntington Library, RB 108773); no. 1462 (Lyons: Bern Lescuyer, 1516). Finally, for editions of the Carmelite *Propria* see Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, no. P2610-P2678.

[26] It is reasonable to assume that the Benedictine foundations of Mount Tabor in Galilee (Hamilton p. 60-61) and Our Lady of Josaphat (Hamilton p. 62), the Benedictine convents of Sta Anna, Sta Maria Latina, Sta Maria «la Grande» (Hamilton p. 100), the Cistercian monasteries of St John in Nemore and Salvatio (Hamilton p. 102), and the Cistercian enclosed nuns of Sta Maria Magdalena in Acre (Hamilton p. 300, 304), from which we have no extant manuscripts, all practised a monastic use.

[27] The Western sanctoral is distinctively northern French, whereas we would have expected a connection with the area of provenance of the first patriarch, Bernard of Valence (1100-35); see «Conclusions» for further discussion on the liturgy of Antioch.

[28] For a list of studies on the early liturgy of Jerusalem, as well as on other Eastern liturgies in Jerusalem see C. Renoux, Hierosolymitana. Aperçu bibliographique des publications depuis 1960, in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 23, 1981, p. 1-30, 149-75; see also R. Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedraloffizium Jerusalems*, Münster, 1968 (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 48) and *The Holy Land, Holy*

any single Western diocese. Yet its individual components clearly derive from various particular Western sources, showing that the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre has a composite nature. None of the extant manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre was among those that arrived with the first crusaders from the West. For the very first years after the establishment of the Latins in Jerusalem, the liturgical services practised by the patriarch and the secular clergy of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as by other religious institutions, must have relied on the books they brought with them from the West. The inevitable loss of some of them in the long journey and the military campaigns, together with the continuous need generated by the expansion of the ecclesiastical establishment, may soon have resulted in the surviving books being insufficient, therefore stimulating the need for more books.

Buchthal suggests that the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre was established quite early during the second quarter of the century (by 1130), maybe by the Englishman William, prior of the Holy Sepulchre and later archbishop of Tyre (*c.*1127-35)[29]. This conclusion is based on the evidence provided by extant illuminated manuscripts; this date should refer, I believe, to the development of the atelier that, in those years, produced the earliest extant illuminated manuscripts.

Lands, and Christian History, ed. R. N. Swanson, Woodbridge, 2000 (Studies in Church History, 36). A tenth-century psalter produced in a Latin writing centre in the East, probably in the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai itself, was found in the 1950s among the Slavonic manuscripts of the monastery (Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, Slavonic ms. 5); it presents Visigothic, North-Italian, and Oriental influence; see E. A. Lowe, An Unknown Latin Psalter on Mount Sinai, in *Scriptorium*, 9, 1955, p. 177-99, pl. 18-23; its unique calendar, with strong Oriental influence and unknown African saints, was edited by J. Gribomont, Le mystérieux calendrier latin du Sinai. Édition et commentaire, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 75, 1957, p. 105-34; it shows no connection with any Western church. Two more liturgical fragments were subsequently discovered at the monastery, both used as endleaves for twelfth-century manuscripts, one Greek and one Arabic: the first is a fragment of a tenth-century Latin antiphonal (Sinai, St Catharine's Monastery, Greek ms. 567, f. 1-6, 214-19), the second of a ninth/tenth-century Latin epistolary (Sinai, St Catharine's Monastery, Arabic ms. 455, f. 1 and 4); see E. A. Lowe, Two new Latin liturgical fragments on Mount Sinai, in *Revue Bénédictine*, 74, 1964, p. 252-83; *id.*, Two Other Unknown Latin Liturgical Fragments on Mount Sinai, in *Scriptorium*, 19, 1965, p. 3-29, pl. 1-5. The three articles were reprinted in *id.*, *Paleographical papers, 1907-1965*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1972, II p. 417-40, 520-45, and 546-74.

[29] Buchthal p. xxx, 21-2; Hamilton p. 66-7.

As there is a record attesting to the presence of a *magister scholasticus* at the Holy Sepulchre by 1103, with responsibility for the preparation of the clergy[30], there must have been some form of book production as well, even if probably not of the high standard reached in later and more settled years.

The earliest extant manuscripts, written in Jerusalem in the 1130s, show that by this date a unique liturgical use was being organized in the typical form that was to be practised for centuries. The introduction of the Jerusalem feasts into the calendar and sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre represents the only attention to the local liturgical environment in an otherwise altogether Western use. It should be noted how at first the office for these feasts was taken from the common of saints; only subsequently were proper offices created, even then modelled on standard Western practice. The two sacramentaries dating from 1128-30, HS^{1-2} and HS^{3}, do not yet present entries for the Jerusalem feasts in their sanctoral, but only in their calendar. In both manuscripts the liberation of Jerusalem is celebrated with an office placed independently between the dedication of the church and the votive masses, not yet incorporated within the sanctoral on 15 July as in later books. The office for the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Abraham, Ysaac, and Jacob, is listed in the votive masses instead of its appearance in later sanctorals on 6 October. This shows how the liturgical practice in Jerusalem was still evolving after thirty years, an aspect that would continue in later years too. Similarly, as far as the French entries in the calendars are concerned, we can wonder whether the Angevin saints are inherited from the first books used in the cathedral or a later insertion, which may reflect the political influence of the arrival in 1129 of Fulk V of Anjou to the Holy Land.

This variety introduces us to the heart of the problem: when was the liturgy organized in the form that is still preserved by the extant manuscripts, and by whom? Do the extant manuscripts reflect the liturgy that was practised from the arrival of the Latins in Jerusalem, or do they witness the final stage of a gradual process? As François Petit points out[31], the canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre developed a liturgy of their own. They could not, because of the language barrier, and anyway would not, adopt the local liturgy practised by the Greek Orthodox patriarch and canons. Although the Orthodox Christians were full members of the Catholic communion, the crusaders did not accept that an Orthodox bishop could exercise spirit-

[30] DE ROZIÈRE no. 36 and HAMILTON p. 134.

[31] See « Introduction » note 27.

ual authority over the Latins, who had arrived in Jerusalem as conquerors[32]. Whereas the contents of a new liturgical use are generally selected by a religious community in such a way as best to reflect its spirituality, the options available to the first canons of the Holy Sepulchre were limited by the survival of their books. Nonetheless, a selection among the available sources was made, and this process reflected the political influence of some of the members of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Who these figures were can be inferred from an analysis of the composite aspect of the liturgical manuscripts themselves.

The analysis of the chant repertory preserved in the extant manuscripts allows the identification of three main Western sources adopted within the use of the Holy Sepulchre. In addition a fourth source can be identified as having been incorporated into the established tradition at a later stage. In the temporal, the office for the four Sundays of Advent, and in particular that for the first two Sundays, which presents original features, corresponds to that practised within the Norman diocese of Évreux[33]. The original series of Alleluia verses sung during the twenty-three Sundays after the octave of Pentecost was also modelled on the use of Évreux. By the 1150s-1160s (HS^{5}), however, this series was partially modified with the introduction of elements deriving from a different Norman tradition, examples of which can be found in Norman Sicily as well as in Norman England. The office for the Triduum Sacrum as well as that for the dedication of the church were clearly derived from the use of Chartres.

In the sanctoral, the office of the dead corresponds to that of Bayeux[34], and more specifically to the office of Bayeux before 1204, the date of the French conquest of Normandy. Finally, the office for

[32] HAMILTON p. 19.

[33] Detailed analysis of the sources in Chapter V. On the liturgy of Évreux see L. DELISLE, *Notes sur quelques manuscrits du musée britannique*, Paris, 1878, extrait du t. IV des *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, p. 183-238 no. xiii: a thirteenth-century missal of Évreux used in the seventeenth century by the Collegiate church of Vernon (= London, British Library, ms. Additional 26655); *Les anciens livres liturgiques du diocèse d'Évreux*, ed. A. A. PORÉE, Évreux, 1904; A. M. E. DEVILLE, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits normands conservés à la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, Évreux, 1904-6, extrait de la *Revue catholique de Normandie*, xiii-xv, VII: Manuscrits ébroïciens; *Ancien coutumier de la cathédrale d'Évreux*, ed. F. M. A. BLANQUART, Rouen, 1906; J. B. MESNEL, *Les saints du diocèse d'Évreux*, Évreux, 1914-18; R. DELAMARE, *Le calendrier de l'Église d'Évreux*, Paris, 1919 (Bibliothèque liturgique, 21); « *Ordo servicii* » *de l'insigne cathédrale d'Évreux*, ed. R. DELAMARE, 2 vols, Paris, 1924, in the introduction Dom Aubourg describes the genesis and the history of this *ordo*.

All Saints appears to be identical to that practised in the Norman diocese of Sées[35] and in the diocese of York[36].

While the composite aspect of this selection is self-evident, it cannot be ascribed solely to a random juxtaposition of liturgical pieces extracted from manuscripts circulating in Jerusalem. Certainly the choice must have been limited, but I believe that some of these features reflect a conscious selection made by the compilers of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre.

Information on the process of compilation of the liturgy can be gathered from the rubrics of the manuscripts, and in particular from the opening of the breviaries and ordinals, which states:

> « Incipit breviarium adbreviatum idest quoddam excerptum de pluribus libris secundum antiquam consuetudinem institutionum ecclesie dominici Sepulcri, partim secundum novam [consuetudinem] legendi et canendi in eadem ecclesia sicuti patres antiqui et priores predicte ecclesie, valde probabiles viri communi assensu, parique voto et bona discretione simpliciter ordinaverunt ac nullo contradicente firmiter tenere et habere pariter decreverunt. Si autem aliquid hic de predictis consuetudinibus quod scriptum non sit defuerit in fine libri huius queratur »[37].

The text therefore states that the breviary was originally compiled by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre from a selection of different books, and that the old custom of reading and singing was in some of

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[34] On the liturgy of Bayeux see J. LAFFETAY, *Essai historique sur l'antiquité de la foi dans le diocèse de Bayeux et le culte de quelques saints récemment introduits dans le calendrier liturgique de ce diocèse*, Caen, 1861; E. Deslandes's introduction to the manuscripts of the Chapter library of Bayeux in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: X, Départements*, Paris, 1889, p. 271-93; *Inventaire des manuscrits de la cathédrale de Bayeux*, ed. E. DESLANDES, Paris, 1889; E. DESLANDES, *Le trésor de l'église de Notre-Dame de Bayeux*, Paris, 1896; M. J. MASSELIN, *Observations sur le plain-chant du diocèse de Bayeux*, Caen, 1897; *id.*, *Le diocèse de Bayeux. Étude historique*, Caen, 1898; a thirteenth-century ordinal of Bayeux (Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 121) was edited by U. CHEVALIER, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux (XIIIe siècle)*, Paris, 1902 (Bibliothèque liturgique, 8); E. DESLANDES, *Étude sur l'Église de Bayeux*, Caen, 1917.

[35] On the liturgy of Sées see M. D'ORVILLE, *Recherches historiques sur la ville, les évêques et le diocèse de Séez*, Sées, 1829; A. BLIN, *Vie des saints du diocèse de Séez et histoire de leur culte*, Laigle, 1873; H. MARAIS and H. BEAUDOIN, *Essai historique sur la cathédrale et le chapitre de Sées*, Alençon, 1878; A. BLIN, *Ordinal de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives*, Paris, 1887 (this ordinal, dated 1285, was used by the chapter of Sées); *Catalogue des manuscrits et des livres présentés à l'exposition bibliographique de Sées*, Sées, 1889.

[36] HUGH THE CHANTER, *The History of the Church of York, 1066-1127*, ed. C. JOHNSON, rev. by M. BRETT, C. N. L. BROOKE, and M. WINTERBOTTOM, Oxford, 1990.

[37] HS^5 f. 26^v.

its parts eventually revised according to a collegiate decision of the priors of the Holy Sepulchre. What was the original custom, which parts of it have been changed, by whom, and when?

C — ARNULF OF COCQUES AND THE REFORM OF THE CHAPTER OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

The use made of liturgical material from Évreux and Bayeux is directly related to the role of Arnulf of Cocques, chaplain of Robert duke of Normandy († 1134), first unratified patriarch of Jerusalem, and later third canonical patriarch (1112-18). Arnulf is described by some of the contemporary sources in a controversial, if not in many cases rather negative, way[38]. We can now recognize for certain that he was one of the most influential characters in the shaping of the ecclesiastical structure of the Latin East during the nearly two decades after the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem[39].

Arnulf was born around 1055 in Cocques, Pas-de-Calais (Flanders), within the diocese of Thérouanne[40], the son of a priest[41]. He was sent very early to Normandy where he entered St Stephen of Caen, either as an oblate to the newly founded abbey, soon after 1063, or following Lanfranc from Bec to Caen in 1063, together with others of his most gifted pupils. Lanfranc was abbot of St Stephen between 1063 and 1070, when he became archbishop of Canterbury. His successor was William Bonne-Ame[42], a canon and archdeacon of Rouen who had entered St Stephen after a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. William was abbot until 1079, when he was made archbishop

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[38] HAMILTON p. 12-13.

[39] On Arnulf's life and career see *DHGE* IV p. 619-21 and C. W. DAVID, *Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy*, Cambridge, Mass., 1920, p. 217-20.

[40] As it is mentioned in *Versus de viris illustribus diocesis Tarvanensis qui in sacra fuere expeditione*: « Primus Evremarus sedit patriarcha Sepulchri; | Post nunc Arnulfus: oriundus uterque Cyokes. | Praefuit et templo, tuus archidiaconus ante | Vir probus et sapiens et religiosus Achardus... » ed. C. MOELLER, Les Flamands du Ternois au royaume latin de Jérusalem, in *Mélanges Paul Fredericq*, Brussels, 1904, p. 189-202, at 191. The first mentioned is Evremar of Cocques, second patriarch of Jerusalem (1102-08); the third, Achardus of Arrouaise, was prior of Templum Domini (*c.*1112-*c.*1136); see KOHLER p. 434 n. 5 and HAMILTON p. 134.

[41] GUIBERT OF NOGENT p. 292 (§ 7, 675-9): « Discusso nimirum hominis genere sacerdotis filius repperitur, qui non solum a sacris arceri precipitur gradibus, sed secundum Toletanae synodi scita eius aecclesiae, ad cuius iniuriam constat esse progenitus, servus iubetur fieri sempiternus »; RAYMOND OF AGUILERS in *RHC Occ* III p. 231-309, at 302; WT I p. 421 (§ 9, 1).

[42] D. SPEAR, William Bona Anima, Abbot of St Stephen's of Caen, 1070-1079, in *The Haskins Society Journal in Medieval Studies*, 1, 1989, p. 51-60.

of Rouen. In Caen Arnulf was taught by Lanfranc and William Bonne-Ame until around 1070-75 and his excellent education is a point which all sources agree upon and recognize[43]. Sally Vaughn, in her re-evaluation of the school of Bec, its students and curriculum, points out that of the students who went on to ecclesiastical careers between 1042 and 1170, ninety became high church officials, ranging from abbots to popes[44]. Another thirty students became historical writers concerned with custom as law[45]. Moreover, another considerable portion of Lanfranc's students were noble laymen, possibly the sons of the earliest donors to Bec, who went on to occupy prominent positions in Normandy and in England[46]. If the Bec school was clearly remarkable in its administrative and legal training, we may expect that not too dissimilar results would probably surface from a similar study on St Stephen of Caen, where Lanfranc moved to in 1063 and where a school was also established. Arnulf in fact appears as a teacher at St Stephen during William's abbacy[47], and the school attracted young men such as Theobald of Étampes, later master at Oxford, Roger, later bishop of Salisbury, and Ralph of Caen, the

[43] GUIBERT OF NOGENT p. 290 (§ 7, 637-41): « Erat ibi tunc temporis quidam sub censura clericali agens, sub quo autem gradu nescio, qui vocaretur Arnulfus. Is, in dialecticae eruditione non hebes, quum minime haberetur ad grammaticae documenta rudis, regis Anglorum filiam monacham eaquam premisimus diu disciplina docuerat »; RALPH OF CAEN, in the preface of his work dedicated to Arnulf, his old master, says: « nullius etenim liberalis scientiae te cognovimus exsortem » (*RHC Occ* III p. 587-716, at 604); *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. M. T. HILL, London, 1962, p. 479-80: « Similiter elegerunt patriarcham quendam sapientissimum et honorabilem virum, nomine Arnulfum »; RAYMOND OF AGUILERS in *RHC Occ* III p. 231-309, at 281: « quia litteratus erat, credebant ei multi »; ALBERT OF AIX in *RHC Occ* IV p. 265-713, at 470: « Arnolfus de Zokes castello Flandriae, clericus magnae scientiae et facundiae »; *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis abbatis Hierosolymita*, ed. H. HAGENMEYER, Tübingen, 1877, p. 264: « iussuque regis Arnoldus, quidam venerabilis et bene literatus clericus ».

[44] S. N. VAUGHN, Lanfranc, Anselm, and the School of Bec: In Search of the Students of Bec, in *The Culture of Christendom. Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. M. A. MEYER, London and Rio Grande, Oh., 1993, p. 155-81, at 155 and 176-9.

[45] *Ibid.* p. 169 and 180-1.

[46] *Ibid.* p. 169-75.

[47] R. FOREVILLE, L'école de Caen au XIe siècle et les origines normandes de l'université d'Oxford, in *Études médiévales offertes à M. le doyen Augustin Fliche*, Montpellier, 1952 (Publication de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier, 4), p. 81-100, at 83ss; see also É. LESNE, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France. V. Les écoles de la fin du VIIIe siècle à la fin du XIIe*, Lille, 1940, p. 114 and 119 and M. T. GIBSON, *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford, 1978, p. 104-5.

author of the *Gesta Tancredi*, dedicated to Arnulf[48]. His skills in dialectic acquired such recognition that he was chosen by William the Conqueror to educate his daughter Cecilia, nun at Sainte-Trinité of Caen, in grammar and dialectic around 1070-75[49]. Cecilia, who later became the second abbess of her mother's great foundation, is remembered for her learning as well as for her piety[50]. Arnulf is also known to have been close to Odo of Conteville, bishop of Bayeux (1049-97)[51], half-brother of William the Conqueror and Robert and Cecilia's uncle. It is therefore very likely that it was through Cecilia, who is said to have obtained from her brother, Duke Robert, a promise of the first vacant Norman bishopric for Arnulf[52], or through Odo's influence that Arnulf entered the service of the duke as chaplain[53]. His official connection with the ducal court undoubtedly began at least in 1094, for the contemporary biographer of Abbot William of Bec states that on or very shortly after 10 August 1094, Arnulf went on an important official errand for the duke in the capacity of « chancellor »[54]. In a charter dated 15 August 1095 issued by Duke Robert in favour of Rouen cathedral, « Ernulfus de Cioches capellanus meus » appears among the witnesses[55].

[48] RALPH OF CAEN in *RHC Occ* III p. 587-716, at 604: « Praesertim mellita mihi erit quaecumque erit correctio tua, si, quem sortitus sum praeceptorem puer iuvenem, nunc quoque correctorem te impetravero vir senem ».

[49] Cecilia entered the newly founded nunnery as a child, under the tutorship of the abbess Matildhe, in 1066, when she must have been four or five years old.

[50] See for example Guibert of Nogent, above note 43; Ordericus Vitalis, without mentioning any particular teacher, also remarks upon Cecilia's unusual education; see ORDERICUS VITALIS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. M. CHIBNALL, 6 vols, Oxford, 1969-80, II p. 303: « Quae cum grandi diligentia in coenobio Cadomensi educata est et multipliciter erudita ».

[51] *Les évêques normands du XIe siècle. Actes du colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (30 septembre – 3 octobre 1993)*, ed. P. BOUET and F. NEVEUX, Caen, 1995, p. 24-5, 226-7 and 251-2; D. BATES, The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-1097), in *Speculum*, 50, 1975, p. 1-20.

[52] GUIBERT OF NOGENT p. 290-1 (§ 7, 641-44): « cui Northmannorum comes mediante sorore spoponderat quod etiam episcopalem honorem ipsi deferret, si quempiam episcoporum suorum obisse contingeret ».

[53] Arnulf was certainly not among the clergy of Rouen. He does not appear in David Spear's survey of clergymen of the cathedral of Rouen during the ducal period, for which see D. SPEAR, Les doyens du chapitre cathédral de Rouen durant la période ducale, in *Annales de Normandie*, 33, 1983, p. 91-119; Les archidiacres de Rouen, in *Annales de Normandie*, 34, 1984, p. 15-50; Les dignitaires de la cathédrale de Rouen pendant la période ducale, in *Annales de Normandie*, 37, 1987, p. 121-48; Les chanoines de la cathédrale de Rouen pendant la période ducale, in *Annales de Normandie*, 41, 1991, p. 135-75.

[54] M. CRISPIN, *Vita venerabilis Willelmi Beccensis Tertii Abbatis*, in *PL* CL, col. 718.

[55] C. H. HASKINS, *Norman Institutions*, Cambridge, Mass., 1918 (Harvard Historical Studies, 24), p. 70 no. 31; p. 74 no. 28.

Odo had attended the Council of Clermont in 1095[56], and in 1096 he had travelled around Normandy, presumably to preach the Crusade, with the papal legate, Abbot Gerento of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon[57]. At the time of departure for the Holy Land, Arnulf was travelling with Odo and Gilbert II fitz Osbern, count of Breteuil and bishop of Évreux (1071-1112)[58], who had also attended the Council of Clermont the previous year. They all left for Jerusalem in the expedition of Duke Robert. According to the chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif of Sens, on their way to Jerusalem Robert and Stephen of Blois met Urban II in Lucca and there they received Urban's blessing around 25 October 1096; on this occasion the chaplains of the two leaders, Arnulf and Alexander, obtained the licentia ligandi et solvendi, that is they were made ancillary legates[59]. In February 1097 Odo of Bayeux died in Palermo, leaving all of his movable wealth to Arnulf[60]. Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, after presiding at the funeral went back to Normandy[61]. Arnulf's position was further strengthened in 1098 when the legate, Adhémar of Le Puy, died. Ralph of Caen reports that the dying Adhémar invited the crusaders to obey Arnulf, who, by that time, was probably the only clergyman left invested with legatine powers[62]. It was Arnulf who was asked to judge the authenticity of the visions of Peter Bartholomew (3 April 1099)[63] and, during the siege of Jerusalem, he had preached to the crusaders on procession to the Mount of Olives (7 June 1099)[64]. Licentia legandi et solvendi and preaching to the crusaders were powers normally devolved by the pope to the legates accompanying the crusades. The crusaders entered Jerusalem on 15 July and seven days later Godfrey was elected to govern the newly acquired territories[65]. On the ecclesiastical front, the see of Jerusalem was vacant. The Orthodox patriarch, Symeon II, who was living in Cyprus together with the canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, died at about the time that Jerusalem was captured. In the absence of a canonical body of electors, the senior clergy gathered together on 1 August to choose a Latin patriarch from among themselves. Of the almost thirty archbishops and bishops known to have taken the cross during the first crusade[66], apparently the only one who had come on crusade and survived to take part in the siege of Jerusalem was Arnulf, bishop of Martirano in Calabria, southern Italy, whom Ralph of Caen described as scarcely more learned than the uneducated mass of the people and all but technically illiterate[67]. It is therefore unsurprising that Arnulf of Cocques was made patriarch-elect pending papal ratification. As shown above, despite not being a bishop, he embodied all the qualities needed at such a key moment: a learned man, a popular figure among the crusaders, possessing legatine powers and, most

56 Ordericus Vitalis III p. 470.

57 Bates, *The character*, p. 18.

58 *Les évêques normands*, p. 29 and 233-4.

59 *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius: Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*, ed. R. H. Bautier and M. Gilles, Paris, 1979, p. 184-6: « [anno 1120] Referens quia cum esset capellanus comitis Stephani, ultramare secum ivit, sed, antequam transirent, a summo pontifice Romanae ecclesiae inter se et Dominum Arnulfum, qui nunc patriarcha videtur, licentiam ligandi atque solvendi accepit »; see also J. Richard, Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'église latine de Jérusalem, in *Recueil de travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel*, 2 vols, Paris, 1955 (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, 12), II p. 420-30.

60 Guibert of Nogent p. 291 (§ 7, 656-60): « Cuius Arnulfus idem comitatui sese indidit, et cum huic ipsi episcopo citra, nisi fallor, Romaniae fines finis obtigisset, ex illo maximo censu, quem post se reliquerat, hunc legatarium pene ante omnes suppellectilis suae preciosae effecit »; Bates, *The Character*, p. 20.

61 *Les évêques normands*, p. 29; he died in 1112 and was buried in the cathedral he had founded in Évreux.

62 Ralph of Caen in *RHC Occ* III p. 673 and Richard p. 423. As Richard points out, even if the fact is not correct it attests the authority exercised by Arnulf from that moment.

63 Raymond of Aguilers in *RHC Occ* III p. 279. On the discovery of the relic of the Holy Lance during the siege of Antioch by Peter Bartholomew see C. Morris, Policy and Visions: The Case of the Holy Lance at Antioch, in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt, Woodbridge, 1984, p. 33-45; W. Giese, Die *lancea domini* von Antiochia (1098/99), in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, 6 vols, Hanover, 1988-90 (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 33), V p. 485-504.

64 Albert of Aix in *RHC Occ* IV p. 470.

65 J. C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon*, Bloomington, Ind., 1947 (Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series, 5), p. 106; J. Riley-Smith, The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 52, 1979, p. 83-6.

66 From the list of people who took the cross during the first crusade, a work presently being compiled by Jonathan Riley-Smith, we may extrapolate references to clergymen of various rank. The material, extracted from all the narrative sources and from many of the cartularies and other collections of documents, relies on the evidence for taking of the cross, not actual participation, although most of those referred to did join one or another of the armies; see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 196-246.

67 Ralph of Caen in *RHC Occ* III p. 587-716, at 683. Arnulf is not listed in Gams, where there appears to be a gap between the death of Bishop Ridulphus in 1090 and the election of Bishop Michael in 1170; Gams p. 894-5. He is mentioned only as being part of Bohemond's army in R. Manselli, *Italia e italiani alla prima crociata*, Rome, 1983 (Storia, 13), p. 54. The other bishop who apparently made it to Jerusalem was Bonfilius, O.S.B., bishop of Foligno (1078-99), who had left Foligno in 1094, returned to Italy in 1099 and after resigning his bishopric retired to the monastery of Sta Maria della Fara, where he died in 1115; see Gams p. 696.

importantly, close to the most influential party arrived in Jerusalem[68]. In this context and as he was very likely a Norman himself, it is not surprising to find that the bishop of Martirano gave his full support to Arnulf[69]. Raymond of Aguilers and William of Tyre actually report that as the bishop of Martirano wished to obtain for himself the church of St Mary in Bethlehem, he supported the election of Arnulf to the patriarchate of Jerusalem to make sure he achieved his ambition[70]. The discovery in Jerusalem of the relic of the true cross soon after his election, and very likely under the new patriarch's initiative, could be represented, as Murray points out, «as a sign of divine legitimation far more significant than the approbation of part of the crusading army»[71]. Arnulf's election was not ratified by the new papal legate appointed by Urban II just before his death, Daibert, archbishop of Pisa[72], who, arriving in Jerusalem with the Pisan fleet in September 1099, was himself chosen to fill the place in December 1099, but was deposed in September 1101 in favour of Evremar (1102-08).

Evremar, who like Arnulf was from Cocques, appointed Arnulf archdeacon of the Holy Sepulchre. This is confirmed by the chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, which reports how, after Stephen of Blois had left the crusade before the fall of Antioch and finally reached Jerusalem during Easter 1102, Alexander, his chaplain, found that

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68 While his election had been opposed by the Provençal clergy, even Raymond of Aguilers had to recognize that it had been welcomed by the population with hymns, chants, and great applause; see RAYMOND OF AGUILERS in *RHC Occ* III p. 281: «[Arnulph] capellanum comitis Normanniae, qui quasi caput omnium incredulorum erat...quia litteratus erat, credebant ei multi» and III p. 302: «Eo tempore Arnulphus, capellanus Normanniae comitis, a quibusdam in patriarcham eligitur, contradicentibus bonis...atque se cum hymnis et canticis in sede patriarchali, magno populorum plausu, elevari fecit».

69 RAYMOND OF AGUILERS in *RHC Occ* III p. 231-309, at 301-2; WT I p. 421-2 (§ 9, 1, 25-43).

70 Arnulf of Martirano's claim was unsuccessful; he probably died shortly after as he is not mentioned in any of the sources after 1099; see J. G. ROWE, Paschal II and the Relation Between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in *Speculum*, 32, 1957, p. 470-501, at 470-3; see also G. A. LOUD, Norman Italy and the Holy Land, in *The Horns of Hattin. Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa 2-6 July 1987*, ed. B. Z. KEDAR, Jerusalem, 1992, p. 49-62, at 49 repr. in *id.*, *Conquerors and Churchmen in Norman Italy*, Aldershot, 1999, XIV.

71 A. V. MURRAY, «Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ»: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in *The Crusades and Their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. FRANCE and W. G. ZAJAC, Aldershot, 1998, p. 217-38, at 221.

72 On the papal legate and first canonical patriarch of Jerusalem see M. MATZKE, *Daibert von Pisa*, Sigmaringen, 1998 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 44).

Arnulf had become the *scrinarius* of King Baldwin[73]. This corresponds to what is said by Albert of Aix, that Arnulf was «clericum mirae prudentiae et facundiae, cancellarium sanctae ecclesiae Iherusalem, procuratorem sanctarum reliquiarum et custodem elemosynarum fidelium»[74]. In the following years Arnulf was in the position to play a major role in the ecclesiastical configuration of Jerusalem and, most importantly, in reforming the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.

Corliss Slack rightly points out how in the early years Roman legates and Western bishops exerted a decisive influence over the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, eager to elicit Western aid. From 1098 until at least 1138 a number of appeals were directed at Manasse, archbishop of Rheims (1096-1106) and his suffragans Lambert, bishop of Arras (1093-1115) and John of Warneton, bishop of Thérouanne (1099-1130), all heads of reformed chapters, and to Conon, founder of the reformed canons of Arrouaise, from 1106 Cardinal of Palestrina, and in 1111 in Jerusalem as papal legate[75]. Because of Lambert's records as a supporter of the crusade movement, Evremar turned to him for help with a letter dated 1106/7 requesting confraternity and sending gifts. In response Lambert assured help and sent «A.», archdeacon of Thérouanne, to Jerusalem. We do not know for certain whether this «A.» should be identified with Achardus, master of the school at Arras by 1095, archdeacon of Thérouanne in 1100, and a canon of Arrouaise, but it is very likely[76]. It is in fact not by chance that after Conon's presence in the Holy Land presiding over the Council held in Jerusalem in 1111 Achardus of Arrouaise became prior of Templum Domini, in or before 1112. It was at Arnulf's suggestion that in 1112 Gibelin, patriarch of Jerusalem (1108-12), on his death-bed, asked King Baldwin to oblige the canons of the Holy Sepulchre to establish communal meals according to the custom of

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73 *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius: Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*, ed. R. H. BAUTIER and M. GILLES, Paris, 1979, p. 186: «Audiens hoc, rex vocavit Arnulfum scrinarium suum...».

74 ALBERT OF AIX in *RHC Occ* IV p. 489 and see J. RICHARD, Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'église latine de Jérusalem, in *Recueil de travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel*, 2 vols, Paris, 1955 (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, 12), II p. 420-30, at 421; in 1100 he was «prelatus Templi domini»: ALBERT OF AIX in *RHC Occ* IV p. 526. He is first named as «cancellarius et archidiaconus dominici Sepulchri» in 1102 at the Council which elected Evremar, *ibid.* IV p. 599; see HAMILTON p. 56 n. 4.

75 C. K. SLACK, *Regular Canons and the Crusades in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries*, unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1988, p. 125-33.

76 *Ibid.* p. 137 and 360. Evremar's letter has given rise to the supposition that Evremar had been a canon of Arras.

the Churches of Lyons and Rheims[77]. William of Tyre states that in 1110 King Baldwin, wishing to elevate Bethlehem into a bishopric, sent Arnulf, at that time archdeacon of the Holy Sepulchre, together with Achardus, very likely the same Achardus of Arrouaise, prior of Templum Domini from *c.*1112, to Rome to discuss the matter with Paschal II[78]. It is very likely that the reform of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre was already discussed on this occasion, hence Arnulf's suggestion to Gibelin in 1112 and, eventually, his reform of the chapter in 1114[79] once he had been elected as Gibelin's successor[80].

The clerics who arrived to Jerusalem with the first crusaders had belonged largely to the pre-reform environment of Normandy. We know that reformed ideas entered Normandy later than in other areas, notably with the reform of the chapter of Sées in 1131. But the reformed ideals developed in Jerusalem much the same way as in later Normandy, though independently. As in Normandy, they received the support of the ruling power; once they were established, it made it easier for the royalty to deal with one body instead of the spread of autonomous powers. And as in Normandy, the support of the papacy was required. As Slack says, by adopting the Augustinian rule Arnulf conciliated the bishops and chapters of Arras and Thérouanne, the influencial Cardinal Conon, and placed himself in alignment with the papacy[81], for the benefit of his Church as much as for himself. In fact Arnulf's own need should not be underestimated. The fact that he was the son of a priest was held against him at the time of his official election to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and it required the apostolic dispensation of Paschal II in 1117 in view of Arnulf's great services and of the needs of the church[82]. Ultimately

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[77] RÖHRICHT no. 63; BRESC-BAUTIER no. 25: «ut eis per obedientiam firmiter precipe-rem quatinus insimul comederent secundum bonarum aecclesiarum specialius Lugdu-nensis vel Remensis consuetudinem». Reference to Lyons should be connected with Hugh archbishop of Lyons (1082-1106), papal legate to Jerusalem in 1101-03, to whom Gibelin of Arles owned his election; and the mention of Rheims, probably the first centre of the reform, reformed in 975, with Archbishop Manasse; see SLACK p. 139 and 147.

[78] WT I p. 512-13 (§ 11, 12, 37-41); see *DHGE* IV p. 619-21, at 620.

[79] BRESC-BAUTIER no. 20. Their institution was recognized by Calixtus II in 1122.

[80] HAMILTON p. 61-4; on Arnulf recovering his see, see also J. G. ROWE, Paschal II and the Relation Between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in *Speculum*, 32, 1957, p. 470-501, at 497-500.

[81] SLACK p. 142.

[82] *PL* CLXIII col. 409: «Porro personae ipsius utilitas ab initio expeditionis Jerosolymitanae quanta penes vos fuerit et quanta sit, non solum nos, sed universus pene agnoscit»; DE ROZIÈRE no. 11; BRESC-BAUTIER no. 91; HAMILTON p. 13; his low birth was very likely one of the reasons why his first election to the patriarchate by the senior clergy of Jerusalem, in 1099, had not been ratified by Daibert of Pisa, legate of Urban II.

the reform of the chapter has probably to be seen as the counterpart to Paschal II's approval of Arnulf's election. This was an incidental effect of Arnulf's fine political abilities in recognizing and supporting the raising power of the canonical movement in the Holy Land. Among the clergy of Jerusalem, he was surely the man who, from the very beginning, had proved to be the most energetic and influential, ecclesiastically as well as politically. Arnulf should certainly be numbered among the remarkable characters who, trained by the best teachers of the Norman schools, went on to shape the ecclesiastical and political history of Normandy, England, and the Holy Land. His low birth has probably to be taken as the principal cause for the delay in the flourishing of his career, which came to the fore in the new Latin kingdom of the East rather than in the Anglo-Norman centre. The evidence now derived from the analysis of the early liturgical books of the Holy Sepulchre proves that he was also the driving influence behind the development of the liturgical practice of Jerusalem. The Bayeux and Évreux component in the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre must have been derived from the manuscripts which Arnulf had with him in Jerusalem, doubtless partly bequeathed to him by Odo of Bayeux in Palermo, and partly, I believe, presented to him by Gilbert of Évreux in Palermo before he made his way home.

D — ANSELLUS AND FULCHER OF CHARTRES

The office for All Saints presents a series of responsories which, whilst it differs from the use of Évreux in only one responsory, is identical to the use practised in Sées[83] and in York. It also differs from the uses of Hereford and Paris in only one responsory. It would be easy to consider the use of the Holy Sepulchre for this office as a Jerusalem variant of the use of Évreux, which as we have seen was adopted for other offices, and whose connection has been historically explained.

The identity with the usage found in manuscripts from Sées requires further consideration. The manuscripts used here for comparative study all date from a time when the chapter of Sées had already been made regular and canons from St Victor, Paris had been placed there, in 1131. The Augustinian monastery of St Victor was founded in 1108 by William of Champeaux, archdeacon of Notre-

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[83] For an account of the episcopal city of Sées from the sixth to the fifteenth century see F. NEVEUX, La ville de Sées du haut moyen âge à l'époque ducale, in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17, 1994, p. 145-63.

Dame, on which St Victor depended « sicut filia a matre »[84]; their liturgy therefore was that of Paris, and it is hence ultimately to Paris that the Sées connection leads.

From 1112 to 1138 the *cantor* of the church of the Holy Sepulchre was Ansellus or Anselmus de Turre, who died on 5 August, some time after 1138, according to the thirteenth-century obituary of the church of Notre-Dame in Paris, where he asked in a letter to be remembered: « Obiit Ansellus, precentor Jerosolimitanus, qui dedit nobis pretiosissimam partem dominice crucis, cuius anniversarium debet fieri prima dominica augusti, quam in honore ejusdem crucis, tunc ad nos transmisse, sollempniter celebramus »[85]. He had previously been a member of the church of Notre-Dame, as shown in the letter which accompanied the sending of relics to that church in 1120: « Cum ad ecclesia ... in qua ... nutritus et eruditus fui, jam per viginti quatuor annos, remotus sim corpore, tamen animo fervens in amore ... ecclesiae vestrae vobiscum cohabito mente »[86]. If, as it appears from his letter, Ansellus had arrived in Jerusalem in 1099 with the first wave of crusaders, and he occupied the position of *cantor* from 1112, then he may well have been in a position to exercise considerable influence within the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre[87]. Liturgical manuscripts from Bayeux, Évreux, and Paris would then be among those used in the church of the Holy Sepulchre from the

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[84] *Liber Ordinis sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, ed. L. Jocqué and L. Milis, Turnhout, 1984 (CCCM, 61), p. v-xi; C. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500-1550*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 274-5; *Colloque d'humanisme médiéval de Paris 1986-1988: L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au Moyen Âge*, ed. J. Longère, Turnhout, 1991 (Bibliotheca Victorina, 1); M. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 197-206.

[85] Röhricht no. 68; de Rozière no. 33; A. Molinier, *Obituaires de la province de Sens. I. Diocèses de Sens et de Paris*, Paris, 1902 (Recueils des historiens de la France. Obituaires, 1), p. 164.

[86] *Gallia Christiana. VII Instrumenta Ecclesiae Parisiensis*, Paris, 1744, no. LIII, col. 44-5, repr. in *PL* CLXII col. 729-32; see also « Anselmi cantoris S. Sepulcri epistula ad canonicos ecclesiae Parisiensis de S. Cruce », registered in Röhricht no. 54 under the year 1108, but Bresc-Bautier convincingly demonstrated that the letter was sent in 1120; G. Bresc-Bautier, L'envoi de la relique de la vraie croix à Notre-Dame de Paris en 1120, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 129, 1971, p. 389-97; Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 275.

[87] He would have had responsibility for the music sung by the choir of the cathedral and over music books. The fact that he was bitterly against the canonical reform introduced by Arnulf in 1114 does not preclude his influence in previous years. He was threatened with expulsion by Calixtus II in 1121, because, together with the *succentor*, he continued to lead a secular life, living in his own house in Jerusalem; see Röhricht no. 94; de Rozière no. 37; Bresc-Bautier no. 3.

very beginning, and it is from these books that the old custom of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre was put together.

In addition to these offices introduced by Arnulf and Ansellus, the sources reveal a Chartres component which, I believe, can be traced to a known character, Fulcher of Chartres. His name is normally associated with his activity as an historian, but his contribution to the ecclesiastical organization of the early church of the Holy Sepulchre should now also be recognized. Fulcher had been a member of the clergy of the cathedral of Chartres. He was trained as a priest, but it does not seem that he occupied any position within the chapter. He attended the Council of Clermont with Ivo of Chartres, the reformer of the Church of Chartres, and his spiritual father. He then took the cross as a chaplain to count Stephen of Blois-Chartres, therefore making his journey to Jerusalem with Arnulf. When Stephen returned to Europe in 1098, Fulcher became the chaplain of Baldwin I of Boulogne, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon and count of Edessa, within the patriarchate of Antioch. That meant that, after a brief stay in Edessa, Fulcher moved to Jerusalem in 1100, when Baldwin was appointed new king of the city. In the royal palace in Jerusalem, Fulcher worked on the composition of his Historia Hierosolymitana[88]. According to Epp, in around 1114 he became a canon of the Holy Sepulchre, probably even occupying the position of *thesaurarius*[89]. As noted earlier, the canons of the Holy Sepulchre were reformed in 1114 and it is highly probable that in the enforcement of regular life Arnulf would have had the support of Fulcher of Chartres, himself the pupil of one of the great reformers of the French church[90].

If, as we have seen, the liturgical uses of Bayeux, Évreux, and Paris were constituent parts of the old custom of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and if we give full value to the rubrics of the ordinals of the Holy Sepulchre which suggest that the old custom of reading and singing was in some of its parts eventually revised according to a collegiate decision, I would suggest that the Chartres component has to be seen as a more recent introduction into the custom of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre. Moreover, I would date such modifica-

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[88] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095-1127), ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913.

[89] Epp, *Fulcher*, p. 27.

[90] And also that of Achardus, from the Augustinian community of Arrouaise (diocese of Arras), who had gone to Rome with Arnulf in 1110 (see above note 78) and who was nominated prior of Templum Domini in *c*.1112, very likely under Arnulf's influence.

tion of the custom to around 1114, as it is in this year that the reform of the chapter took place, and it is by this date that Fulcher is actively involved as a canon of the Holy Sepulchre. This receives confirmation from William of Tyre who mentions, to Arnulf's dishonour, that « ordinem, quem primi principes studiose et cum multa deliberatione in ecclesia Ierosolimitana instituerant, regulares canonicos introducendo, commutarit »[91].

It is also possible that the Chartres element was introduced by Fulcher from the very beginning into the liturgy of the Sepulchre, as he was in Jerusalem by 1100, but it seems more plausible to date his liturgical involvement to the time when he was actually a full member of the canonical body of the Holy Sepulchre. The Chartres derivation might also be connected with the patriarchate of Stephen of La Ferté (1128-30). A member of the family of the vidames of Chartres, he had been the abbot of the reformed canons of Saint-Jean-en-Vallée, Chartres[92]. However, as William of Tyre specifically refers to a modification of the liturgical use at the time of the transition of the canons into regular life, and as that time coincides with Fulcher's joining the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, I am more in favour of my earlier dating of the incorporation of the Chartres component into the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, rather than attributing it to the role of Stephen of La Ferté.

[91] WT I p. 519 (§ 11, 15, 14-17).

[92] St Jean-en-Vallée, originally a collegiate church served by canons secular, received, at the time of its foundation in the eleventh century, the liturgy of the cathedral of Chartres ; see DELAPORTE p. 220. During Yvo's bishopric (1090-1115), and under his instigation, the clerics of the church of St Jean-en-Vallée constituted themselves into a community of canons regular, in 1099 or 1100 ; see R. MERLET, *Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-en-Vallée de Chartres*, Chartres, 1906 (Collection de cartulaires Chartrains, 1), p. xxvi and 2-3 no. 3 ; DELAPORTE p. 11 ; DEREINE p. 385 : [Yvus] : « In praetaxata Sancti Joannis ecclesia canonicos tales esse decrevi qui, proprietate posthabita, canonicam habeant vitam, juxta beati Augustini institutionem... » (*PL* CLXII col. 294) ; FASSLER, *Gothic Song*, p. 88-94.

CHAPTER II

Manuscripts from Jerusalem

In this and the following two chapters are discussed the eighteen known manuscripts that preserve the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem and which are fully described in the second part of this volume. Emphasis is here given to the analytical evaluation of their liturgical content and to the historical context surrounding their production and date of composition. More attention is given to the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts which have not been carefully examined in previous literature, as opposed to the better known illuminated Jerusalem exemplars.

HS[1] - HS[2] **Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, ms.** 477 and **Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. McClean 49** (1128-30)

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. McClean 49 consists of the prefaces and the Canon (f. 70^v-83^v) from the sacramentary in the Angelica library. These leaves were removed from the original manuscript probably sometime in the nineteenth century. The earliest extant manuscript from the Holy Sepulchre, the sacramentary HS[1-2], was certainly written before 1149, as there is no mention of the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Buchthal dates the manuscript to *c.*1140, following his belief that the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre had been founded by the Englishman William, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, in the second quarter of the twelfth century, before he became archbishop of Tyre in 1127. I prefer the dating of Boase and Folda, who suggest on the ground of an obituary note for Patriarch Warmund that the time of production should be moved back to *c.*1130[1]. The addition to the calendar of the *obit*

[1] T. S. R. BOASE, *Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusades*, London, 1971, p. 98 ; FOLDA, *The Art*, p. 100-4.

for Patriarch Warmund (1119-28) and the presence in the litanies of St Piat (1 Oct.), whose body is preserved in the cathedral of Chartres, suggests in fact that the manuscript was probably written during the patriarchate of Warmund's successor, Stephen of La Ferté (1128-30), who as we have seen had previously been abbot of St Jean-en-Vallée, Chartres. The addition to the calendar of the two obituary notes for the patriarch and for Azo, a canon of the church of the Holy Sepulchre who died sometime between 1129 and 1132, clearly suggests that the sacramentary was produced for the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre. The calendar records the saints of Jerusalem, as do the litanies inserted between the temporal and the Canon of the Mass (f. 61^r-62^v), which are followed by the petition for the patriarch. Yet the sanctoral does not present the fully developed aspect of later manuscripts : the saints of Jerusalem have not yet found their place, with proper masses, within the sanctoral. Again, the feast of the *Liberatio Jerusalem* (15 July) is not placed within the proper of saints, as in later missals and breviaries, but appears independently on f. 159^r. The feast for the patriarchs of Jerusalem Abraham Ysaac et Iacob (6 Oct.)[2], recorded in the calendar, has no proper office in the sanctoral, but a special mass on f. 160^r. Unfortunately, this manuscript, being a sacramentary, does not include the chant repertory attached to the offices (found in ordinals, breviaries, and antiphonaries). We can only comment on the post-Pentecost Alleluia verses, definitely of the Évreux kind, but we cannot know whether at this stage the chant repertory had already become stable in its typical configuration, as described above.

HS^3

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12056 (1128-30)

HS^3 is a sacramentary that was clearly copied from HS^{1-2}, as it is evident from both the illumination, as Buchthal notices, and from the text. In particular the addition in HS^3 of a different *Post-communio* for the *Missa in anniversario* (f. 328^v) to be read in place of the one already written on f. 248^v, whose text can also be found in HS^{1-2} (f. 158^v), is further evidence that HS^3 was written after

[2] In 1119 the canons of Hebron discovered under their church what they believed to be the bones of the patriarchs Abraham, Ysaac and Jacob ; see P. RIANT, Invention de la sépulture des patriarches, in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 2, 1884, p. 411-21, at 418 ; HAMILTON p. 65-6.

HS^{1-2}. The text, however, appears to be rather simplified. F. 9^r-63^r of HS^3 contain Gospel readings for the temporal, the sanctoral, the common of saints, and votive masses, added in a different but contemporary hand. The temporal, sanctoral, common of saints, and votive masses contain only the prayers, not the chant repertory. In particular, there are no post-Pentecost Alleluia verses. The fact that this manuscript does not contain the parts generally sung by the choir may suggest that it was copied from the exemplar used by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre for a private owner, either a member of the royal family or a member of its household. A palaeographical feature of this manuscript suggests a connection with the royal family and a date in the last years of the kingdom of Baldwin II (1118-31) : it was written by an Armenian scribe, as is evident by the numbering of the gatherings in Armenian numerals, as well as by the marked angularity of the script, with strong vertical strokes, which, as Wormald points out, resembles Armenian writing itself [3]. Baldwin II's wife was the Armenian Morphia of Melitene († before 1129), whom he married in 1100 or 1101[4]. Therefore the presence of an Armenian scribe within the royal household of Jerusalem should be most likely related to the presence of Morphia in Jerusalem.

HS^4

London, British Library, ms. Egerton 1139 (*c.*1135)

The first manuscript from twelfth-century Jerusalem from which we can gather that the chant repertory had become established is HS^4, a psalter which, it was convincingly argued by Buchthal and Wormald, was produced for Queen Melisende († 1161) between 1131 and 1143 ; in fact, according to Folda, it is possible to narrow down the period to around 1135, when the manuscript was probably commissioned by her husband Fulk[5]. The calendar, in martyrological form, contains a number of English saints, a feature that Folda con-

[3] See Wormald's palaeographical notes in Appendix II of BUCHTHAL p. 135 and S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Manuscrits Arméniens illustrés*, Paris, 1937, pl. vi, xii, and xiii.

[4] B. HAMILTON, Women in the Crusader States : The Queens of Jerusalem (1100-1190), in *Medieval Women. Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind M. T. Hill on the Occasion of Her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. D. BAKER, Oxford, 1978 (Studies in Church History. Subsidia, 1), p. 143-74, at 147-8 repr. in *id.*, *Crusaders, Cathars, and the Holy Places*, Aldershot, 1999, I.

[5] BUCHTHAL p. 1-14, 139-40 no. 1 ; FOLDA, *The Art*, p. 137-59. On the queen see H. E. MAYER, Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26, 1972, p. 95-182, and HAMILTON, *Women in the Crusader States*, p. 148-57.

nects to Fulk's family heritage. In 1128 Geoffrey Plantagenet, Fulk's son, married Mathilda, daughter of Henry I of England. Fulk could therefore rely on his son and daughter-in-law to provide him with handsome exemplars.

From the liturgical point of view, the psalter conforms to the standards set by the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The calendar includes only Symeon (18 Feb.), Quiriacus (4 May), the conquest of Jerusalem (15 July), and Zacheus (23 Aug.) of the Jerusalem feasts. The litanies also list only some of the Jerusalem saints, but they are followed by the petition for the patriarch. Most importantly, the office of the dead displays the use of Bayeux which, as we have seen, was typical of the Holy Sepulchre.

HS^{5}

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Barb. lat. 659 (1153-7)

The last liturgical manuscript that can be assigned to the first kingdom of Jerusalem (before 1187) is also the most complete, liturgically, as it is an ordinal. HS^{5} contains the offices for the liturgical year, generally in abbreviated form, with *incipit* only, as well as extensive information on the ritual performance of the liturgy, and other documents relating to the liturgical activities of the patriarch and the chapter.

Its date is rather controversial[6], though the manuscript should be dated, I believe, to between 1153 and 1157. Bulst-Thiele already noticed how the chronological tables which precede the «Ordo qualiter debet orari pro infirmo canonico», on f. 8^{v}, and which seem to be contemporaneous with it, were composed before 1167[7]. In the calen-

[6] Salmon dates it to the twelfth century, Saxer precisely to 1160, evidently agreeing with Kallenberg. Dykmans thinks that the original part of the calendar was written before 1149, because while on 15 July the entry for the liberation of Jerusalem is added, the dedication of the new church of the Holy Sepulchre, in 1149, is not noted. However, the two feasts are included in the sanctoral. Finally Buchthal and Wormald assign the compilation of the manuscript to the period 1229-44, but copied from material antedating 1187. They clearly propose again Kohler's view on another liturgical manuscript from the Holy Land, HS^{9}. However, the palaeographical appearance of HS^{5}, which conforms to the other manuscripts written in the Holy Land during the twelfth century, does not justify an attribution to the following century, acceptable instead for HS^{9}.

[7] M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi hierosolymitani Magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19-1314*, Göttingen, 1974 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 86), p. 12 n. 12: the tables give 1139 as the beginning of the solar-cycle rather than 1167, the opening year of the next cycle.

dar, on 16 August, the obituary note for Bernard of Tremelay, fourth master of the Templars who died in 1153, is written in the original hand. Finally in the ordinal there is no mention of liturgical instructions by any of the patriarchs after Fulcher of Celles (1146-57). It is therefore reasonable to infer that HS^{5} was written between 1153 and 1157, the end of Fulcher's patriarchate.

HS^{5} contains the most complete information on the liturgical activities of the patriarch and canons of the Holy Sepulchre. On f. 12^{v} is transcribed a document recording a bond of confraternity stipulated some time between 1130 and 1136 among the communities of canons regular of the diocese of Jerusalem, that is Holy Sepulchre, Templum Domini, Mount Sion, and Mount of Olives. On f. 13^{r} is transcribed another document containing the confirmation by the patriarch William of Malines and Peter I, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, of certain prescriptions related to the burial of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, dated 1133. The two documents were not included in the Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre which, according to Bresc-Bautier, was compiled around about 1165[8]. This may be due to the religious nature of the documents, as the material recorded in the cartulary is mostly of a financial and legal nature, to assure the preservation of the church's possessions. The documents are followed by the prescriptions for reading and singing in the church of the Holy Sepulchre and by those for reading in the refectory, after which begins the breviary.

The presence, on f. 7^{v}, of a list of fasting days and feasts to be observed «fratribus templi», «in domo templi», «secundum precepta Innocentii pape edita in concilio qui fuit in civitate Pisana»[9], the insertion of several obituary notes of the grand masters of the order

[8] Bresc-Bautier p. 17.

[9] At the Council of Pisa, held in 1135 by Innocent II, Bernard of Clairvaux, speaking in favour of the Templars, asked the bishops to give financial support to the establishment of Templar houses within their territories; see M. Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 344 n. 41; F. Bramato, *Storia dell'ordine dei Templari in Italia. Le fondazioni*, Rome, 1991, p. 44-5; D. Girgensohn, Das Pisaner Konzil von 1135 in der Überlieferung des Pisaner Konzils von 1409, in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971*, 3 vols, Göttingen, 1971-72 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 36), II p. 1063-1100, at 1098: «Ibi etiam fraternitas cum Ierosolimitani Templi militibus ab omnibus prelatis ecclesiarum, qui aderant, facta est adeo, quod idem Romanus pontifex marcarum auri singulis annis eisdem fratribus se soluturum constituit et Aimericus eius cancellarius II uncias auri annualiter repromisit. Reliqui vero archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates et alii boni viri alii marcam argenti, alii plus, alii minus quotannis simili devotionis intuitu promisere».

into the calendar, and finally the fact that the obituary note for Bernard of Tremelay, as well as the list on f. 7v, are in the original hand, suggests that the manuscript was specifically copied for the Templars of Jerusalem from an exemplar of the Holy Sepulchre[10].

[10] The Templars were granted the right to have their own priests and oratories in 1139, with the bull « *Omne datum optimum* » of Innocent II.

CHAPTER III

Manuscripts from Acre, Caesarea, Tyre, and Antioch

With the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, and after an emergency move to Tyre, all the institutions of Jerusalem settled in Acre in 1191, once it was reconquered by the third crusade. From 1191 to 1291 Acre was the most important commercial and cultural centre in the Latin kingdom, and with the loss of Jerusalem it became the seat of the crusader government, the residence of the patriarch of Jerusalem and of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as of other military and religious orders[1]. Though there was no university in Acre or anywhere else in the Latin Kingdom, there were centres of learning. Runciman suggests the likelihood of a school connected to the Cathedral of the Holy Cross. Moreover, there were *studia* attached to the Franciscan and Dominican convents, established in Acre respectively in about 1219 and 1229[2].

According to Buchthal and Folda, while manuscript production in the first half of the century does not have many surviving witnesses, with the exception of HS6, increasing scribal activity in the second half of the century has to be connected with the patronage exercised by Louis IX († 1270) and Henry II of Lusignan. King Louis IX, in and around Acre from 1250 to 1254, was not only responsible for the reform of the legal establishment, but also for the organization of the major scriptorium at Acre, in the cathedral of the Holy Cross. In fact the extant illuminated manuscripts produced in Acre date from 1250

[1] Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 3-8.

[2] William of Tyre exemplified the pattern of schooling for a Frank born in Outremer: after attending the cathedral school and receiving private tutoring, he went to study at the Universities of Paris and Bologna; see R. B. C. Huygens, Guillaume de Tyr étudiant: Un chapitre (xix, 12) de son « Histoire » retrouvé, in *Latomus*, 21, 1962, p. 822-4; S. Runciman, Intellectual Life in Outremer, in *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols, Cambridge, 1951-54, III, Appendix II, p. 489-92; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 18.

onwards, with an increase in production in the very last decade of the thirteenth century, due to the regenerative effect of aristocratic patronage occasioned by the coronation of Henry II of Lusignan as king of Jerusalem, in Acre in 1286[3].

A certain number of manuscripts were assigned by Buchthal to Jerusalem during the years 1229 to 1244. During this period Jerusalem had returned to Christian possession, thanks to a treaty concluded between the Emperor Frederick II and the Sultan al-Kamil of Egypt in 1229. Some books must certainly have been needed in Jerusalem, if not to be used by the patriarch, who never went back to Jerusalem, then at least by those canons who had to officiate in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. There is however no definite evidence of the presence of a scriptorium in Jerusalem during these fifteen years and Buchthal's suggestion is based on Kohler's conclusions with regard to two thirteenth-century manuscripts of the Holy Sepulchre, an ordinal, HS[9], and a breviary, HS[17]. According to Kohler, the ordinal is a copy of a twelfth-century text composed in Jerusalem in the period 1229-44, because it was only in this period, with the reconquest of Jerusalem, that the various processions to the Holy Places described in the manuscript could have been carried out again. For the same reason, Kohler believes that HS[17], a fourteenth-century manuscript, was a copy of a text that referred to the local conditions prevailing in Jerusalem between 1229 and 1244. Kohler's reasoning for attributing the ordinal and the breviary's exemplar to Jerusalem in 1229-44 is unsustainable. It does not take into proper consideration the conservatism typical of liturgical books: a number of far later manuscripts, even some composed in Europe, retain the same indication for processions to the Holy Places for the same reason that they preserve the remainder of the liturgical prescriptions of the Holy Sepulchre, a desire to continue a tradition while keeping alive the memory of a glorious past[4]. Even with no evidence to prove the contrary, I would find it quite hard to believe in a flourishing scribal activity during those very precarious years. It seems to me more plausible to assume that if books had to be produced for the return of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre to Jerusalem, then these books would be produced for them in Acre, a city to which the entire establishment of Jerusalem had moved, instead of relying on the pos-

[3] BUCHTHAL p. 86-7; FOLDA, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 26, 77, and 102.
[4] See for example the fourteenth-century breviaries written in Cyprus HS[16], p. 740[b], and HS[17], f. 342[r], or the fourteenth-century ordinal used by the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre of Neisse, HSN.

sibility of still being able to use the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre almost forty years after its abandonment. Such a book as HS[9], a very useful compilation of all sorts of liturgical material and documents, closely resembling the twelfth-century ordinal HS[5], may have been among those brought to Jerusalem in the period 1229-44 to be used for the restored liturgical service in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The group of manuscripts ascribed by Buchthal to this period, which, apart from HS[5], includes HS[9], HS[11], HS[12], HS[13], and the exemplar used to copy HS[17], will therefore be dealt with in this section on the manuscripts produced in Acre.

Of the twenty (illuminated) manuscripts listed by Folda as having been produced in Acre in the period 1250-91, only HS[8] and HS[15] are liturgical, and both were written, according to Folda, in the period 1250-60. The other manuscripts include vernacular, and mostly secular, texts which were much more in demand, such as the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre (8 manuscripts)[5], *Histoire Universelle* (4 manuscripts)[6], Vegetius's *De Re Militari*, *Livre de César*, and Cicero's *De Inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (one manuscript each)[7], and three manuscripts containing Bible selections, partly in Old French[8]. Folda has suggested that Latin ecclesiastical texts were produced in smaller numbers because older books could be passed down for further use[9].

However, the evidence that we gather from the liturgical manuscripts written and used in Acre suggests a rather different situation. First it has to be noticed that we can rely on a larger number of exemplars once we include non-illuminated manuscripts. As was the case for Jerusalem, manuscript production in Acre must have been active, stimulated by need, long before the establishment of an organized atelier capable of the production of high quality illuminated manuscripts. Moreover, the analysis of the liturgical contents of these manuscripts has also increased our knowledge of their origin and early use. While Acre has probably to be retained as their place of production, at least until further palaeographical studies examine some of

[5] FOLDA, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, no. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 12, H, I.
[6] *Ibid.* no. 10, E, F, G.
[7] *Ibid.* no. 18, 9, 6 (in Old French).
[8] *Ibid.* no. 5 (in Old French), C, D.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 41.

these manuscripts with consideration of their provenance[10], we can differentiate between manuscripts used in Acre, Jerusalem, Caesarea, Tyre, and Antioch. On liturgical and palaeographical grounds it is possible to distinguish a first period, running from the move to Acre in 1191 to about 1250, and a second period, from 1250 to the loss of the city in 1291.

To the first period we should assign the production of a breviary, HS^{7} (*c.*1200); two missals, HS^{6} (*c.*1200), HS^{8} (1200-28); an ordinal, HS^{9} (1202-28); two pontificals, HS^{10} (1203-10), and HS^{11} (1214-17); a psalter, HS^{12} (1223-25); and a sacramentary, HS^{13} (1225-28).

To the second period belong a breviary, HS^{14} (1256-61) and a missal, HS^{15} (1262-70). What all these manuscripts have in common, with the probable exception of the Riccardiana Psalter (HS^{12}), made for a royal patron, is their apparent liturgical diversity as opposed to the conformity observed in the manuscripts produced in twelfth-century Jerusalem. The larger production of liturgical books in the first half of the thirteenth century and its typology, mainly service books such as missals, ordinals, and pontificals, is very telling of the losses that must have occurred while the ecclesiastical establishment was forced to leave the churches in and around Jerusalem. It is only in the second half of the thirteenth century that, as Folda suggested, they seem finally able to rely on the books produced in early-thirteenth-century Acre.

A — Early Thirteenth Century

The first two manuscripts ascribable to the first period, HS^{6} and HS^{7}, are certainly the most peculiar. HS^{6} is a missal whose sanctoral does not contain the feasts of Jerusalem and whose series of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses, unidentified, has been rather badly adapted to reflect the use of the Holy Sepulchre. It was probably cop-

[10] Folda, *I manoscritti miniati*, p. 301 suggests that the Bible of San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Guarneriana, ms. III, may have been written either in Antioch, Cyprus, Tripoli, or Tyre; for further evidence on intellectual activities in Antioch see Minervini p. 87. Evidence of libraries in other centres of the Latin East was identified in Nazareth and Sidon. For the former there is a twelfth/thirteenth-century list of books held in the chapter library, «Hii sunt libri conuentus Nazarene ecclesie» (Erfurt, Stadtbücherei, ms. Q 102); see Minervini p. 81. For the latter Anneliese Maier identified a group of eight manuscripts from «Ecclesia Sidonensis» which ended up in Avignon in the fourteenth century and are now in the Vatican library and in the Bibliothèque nationale de France; see A. Maier, Die Handschriften der «Ecclesia Sidonensis», in *Manuscripta*, 11, 1967, p. 39-45; Minervini p. 81.

ied from a Rouen exemplar. HS^{7} is a breviary which, while including a petition for the patriarch of Jerusalem after the litanies, does not present any of the Jerusalem feasts in the sanctoral, and whose chant repertory is clearly copied from a manuscript from Chartres, while in the first part of the book can be found a collectar from Limoges. An explanation for such liturgical diversity is to be found, I would suggest, in the difficulties encountered by the patriarch and canons of the Holy Sepulchre in establishing themselves in the first years of settlement in Acre. HS^{7}, which in my view was made for Peter of Limoges, archbishop of Caesarea (1199-1237), might actually be the only extant manuscript used in the archdiocese of Caesarea, although it is not possible to determine whether it was produced there.

HS^{8} and HS^{9} offer a completely different picture. They closely follow the use of the Holy Sepulchre, and it is quite clear that they were copied from material coming from Jerusalem. HS^{8}, moreover, is the only extant manuscript produced for the cathedral of the Holy Cross in Acre.

With the second quarter of the century we start to encounter a new phenomenon, that of the appearance of French local saints in the calendar, and sometimes also in the sanctoral, of the manuscripts produced for the patriarchs of Jerusalem residing in Acre. As far as we can see there is no variation to the use of the Holy Sepulchre, only superficial additions to it, mainly in the commemoration of saints which now seems to preserve a connection with the patriarchs' region of origin[11]. This may reflect a change of perception by the patriarch themselves of the position they were charged with. In fact the loss of Jerusalem and the consequent inability to perform the special liturgy, in and around the most important shrine of the Kingdom, lowered the patriarch and the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, now only nominally so, to the level of other religious institutions. This coincides with an intensification of the relationship between the papacy and the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The tightening of the relationship can be seen with regard to the election of the patriarchs. While in the twelfth century most of the patriarchs had been elected

[11] Of the five manuscripts ascribable to Acre in the second and third quarter of the century, two, HS^{13} and HS^{15}, are missals, so the retention of the chant repertory of the Holy Sepulchre can be ascertained only from the series of Alleluia verses and from a glimpse at the calendar and sanctoral. HS^{13} does not even contain the Alleluia verses. The pontifical HS^{11} does not contain chant, while the psalter HS^{12} does not contain the office of the dead, which would have provided the only indication of the liturgical use adopted. Therefore the breviary HS^{14} is the only book from which we can gather that the chant repertory was still that of the Holy Sepulchre.

either directly by, or under the influence of, the kings or queens of Jerusalem, by the thirteenth century, although the rulers were of course able to influence patriarchal elections, they had to work through the machinery of the Roman curia[12]. Albert of Vercelli (1205-14) was appointed by Innocent III; Robert of Nantes (1240-54) by Gregory IX; Jacques Pantaleon (1255-61) by Alexander IV; William of Agen (1262-70) by Urban IV; Thomas Agni (1272-77) by Gregory X; Elias of Périgueux (1279-87/8) by Nicholas III; Nicholas of Hanapes (1288-91) by Nicholas IV; finally, for the period we are concerned with, Celestine V appointed Raoul of Granville, who was deposed and later reinstated by Boniface VIII. Moreover, as Jonathan Riley-Smith points out, from the second half of the thirteenth century the clergy of the Holy Land were increasingly dependent on their revenues, offices, and dioceses in the West to provide them with some means of livelihood to compensate for the territories that were being lost to the Muslims. Finally, we find that from the pontificate of Innocent IV, and particularly of Urban IV, Syrian titular bishops were employed as papal diplomatists on missions in the East as well as the West[13]. The historical events of the thirteenth century, which caused the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the patriarchate to be less focused on Jerusalem itself and more closely connected with the papacy and the West, left a clear mark in the liturgical practice of the patriarchate as shown in their books.

HS^{6}

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. VI. G. 11 (*c*.1200)

The missal HS^{6} is the only manuscript assigned by Buchthal and Folda to the first half of the thirteenth century. Though the calendar is now missing, we can see from the sanctoral that this missal did not originally present the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre. Although it is very close to the sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre, there are no Jerusalem feasts. The only distinctive entries are Audoenus (24 Aug.) bishop of Rouen, and Genovefa (3 Jan.), the patroness of Paris; Audoenus also comes second after Silvester among the confessors in the litanies. The absence of an entry for Thomas of Canterbury, canonized in 1173, and the addition, in a thirteenth-century hand on f.

[12] HAMILTON p. 245; B. BOLTON, «Serpent in the Dust: Sparrow on the Housetop»: Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Circle of Pope Innocent III, in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. R. N. SWANSON, Woodbridge, 2000 (Studies in Church History, 36), p. 154-80.

[13] RILEY-SMITH, *Latin Titular Bishops*, p. 9 and 15.

236^{v}, of the collect *A cunctis* introduced by Innocent III (1198-1216) suggests that the text of the missal dates to the third quarter of the twelfth century and that it was probably composed for an institution in the Rouen area.

This is confirmed by the post-Pentecost Alleluia verses, which, in their original version, present a series close, though not identical, to Rouen. This series has been adapted to the use of the Holy Sepulchre in a later hand. Therefore if we accept Buchthal's opinion that this manuscript was actually written in Acre at the beginning of the thirteenth century, we have to assume that it was copied from a Rouen exemplar and eventually adapted by its users to make the chant conform to their own tradition. It is also possible that this missal came from Normandy and that in Acre it was simply adapted to make the best use of it in a difficult time. The fact that it was owned in the late seventeenth century by the bishop of Troia, where the canons of the Holy Sepulchre had a house, confirms that it was used by the canons at Acre in the first place.

HS^{7}

Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, ms. 5 (*c*.1200)

HS^{7}, an early-thirteenth-century breviary, is an intriguing case. The calendar is lost, but neither the saints venerated in the sanctoral, nor those in the litanies, include the saints of Jerusalem, although among the petitions which follow the litanies, that for the patriarch of Jerusalem can be found. The sanctoral predates 1173; not only are the mendicant saints absent, but also Thomas of Canterbury. The manuscript, moreover, represents mostly the liturgical use of Chartres[14]. A short chronicle of the success of the crusaders, from 1097 to 1124, is included on f. 18vb. F. 11ra-12vb, which contain the collects or prayers, consist of a long list of saints grouped according to the specific prayer which ought to be read for them. If we exclude the com-

[14] The Advent and Easter offices correspond exactly to Chartres. The office for the Annunciation (25 Mar.) is different from both Jerusalem and Chartres. The office for the Assumption (15 Aug.), lacking the first four responsories, corresponds to Chartres for the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth responsory, but the ninth is different. The office for All Saints day corresponds to that of the Holy Sepulchre, but in position 8 it presents also the responsory *O quam gloriosum est celestium* [22] with the versicle *Illic per illorum interven.*, both of which are found in position 9 in the Chartres series. The office of the dead is a derivation from the Chartres office, from which it differs only in position seven. The office for the dedication of the church is identical with that of the Holy Sepulchre, which was derived from the Chartres use, but position 6 and 9 are inverted. For final considerations on the Chartres presence in this manuscript see the Conclusions in this volume.

mon twelfth-century saints, we are left with a substantial presence of local saints from the Limousin area. They include, to list only a few, Austriclinianus and Alpinianus (27 Apr.), two priests who accompanied St Martial to Limoges and were probably bishops of the town after him; Cessator, supposedly thirty-second bishop of Limoges[15]; Gonsaldus (5 Nov.) hermit of Limoges; Tillo (7 Jan.), monk of Solignac, venerated within the dioceses of Limoges, Tulle, and St Flour; Sorus (1 Feb.), hermit of Terrasson-la-Villedieu; Pardulfus (6 Oct.), the founder of the monastery of Guéret (Creuse), again venerated in the Limousin and Corrèze. Others are saints venerated in the bordering regions, such as Amantius (4 Nov.), bishop of Rodez, Austremonius (3 Nov.), bishop of Clermont, Austregesilus (20 May), patron saint of Bourges, and Genulfus (17 Jan.) bishop of Cahors. Finally, we find a noticeable Cluniac presence, with Odilo (1 Jan.), abbot of Cluny, Leotadius (23 May), bishop of Auch but venerated at Cluny and its dependencies, and Lautenus (6 Nov.), founder of the monastery of Silèze, near Autun, and also venerated at Cluny.

The manuscript, clearly copied in Outremer in view of the petition for the patriarch of Jerusalem and of the chronicle, must therefore have been copied from more than one manuscript. The text from an old breviary from Chartres, predating 1173, was integrated with a collectar from Limoges, also from the twelfth century and possibly from a Cluniac environment. The person responsible for the production of this manuscript may have been, I would like to suggest, Peter of Limoges, archbishop of Caesarea from 1199 to 1237. Caesarea was one of only three cathedral cities of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem remaining in Frankish hands after 1187. Peter was consecrated by the patriarch Aimery of Caesarea (1197-1202), former archbishop of Caesarea. As Hamilton points out, he must have been a comparatively young man since he held that office for thirty-eight years[16]. In 1202 he was nominated Aimery's successor by the archbishop of Tyre, delegated by the electors who had been unable to reach an agreement. This election, however, was not ratified by Innocent III (1198-1216), who sent Soffred, cardinal of Sta Prassede, as his legate to deal with the matter. Soffred was eventually chosen as patriarch in 1203, only to resign the office the following year[17]. That the archbishop of Caesarea was a man of considerable stature can be

[15] *BS* III p. 1161.
[16] HAMILTON p. 244-5.
[17] *Ibid.* p. 248-9.

seen, nonetheless, by the fact that on more than one occasion he was chosen to be in charge of the affairs of the Latin church in Palestine. This was the case in 1224, after the death of the patriarch of Jerusalem, Ralph of Merencourt (1215-24), and before the arrival of the new patriarch Gerold of Lausanne[18]. Again, the day after Frederick II took possession of Jerusalem on 17 March 1229, the archbishop of Caesarea was in Jerusalem, acting on the patriarch's orders, to place the city under an interdict. Finally, from 1233 to 1237, during which time Gerold had been recalled to Rome, Peter must have been again in charge of the affairs of the Latin Church, until his death in 1237, before Gerold's return[19]. Peter of Caesarea was also wealthy and generous enough to be a patron of religious houses[20]. The presence within the sanctoral of the entry for the «passio beati Procopi» (8 July), the martyr of Caesarea[21], rather confirms the relationship of this breviary with the archdiocese of Caesarea. The liturgical confusion of the book may suggest that the manuscript must have been copied very early during Peter's office, basically during those first years of the thirteenth century when good or complete liturgical books from the alienated patriarchate of Jerusalem were difficult to find, and for this reason different liturgical texts, mostly arriving from Europe, were copied and somehow adapted, with various degrees of success, to the use of Jerusalem. As to the place of production, given the haphazard way in which the manuscript was put together, I would not exclude Caesarea itself; yet we do not have, at least at the moment, any evidence of a scriptorium located there, and therefore Acre has to be taken as the more probable place of production.

Nothing is known of the later history of this manuscript, except that, like a number of other manuscripts from the Holy Land, it was taken to Italy, and was already in Lucca when Mansi transcribed its chronicle, in the eighteenth century.

HS[8] **Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 6** (1200-28)

HS[8] is a missal made for the cathedral of the Holy Cross in Acre. On 12 July, the day of the reconquest of Acre in 1191, the calendar records «In dedicatione ecclesie [Acconensis]», with an octave. In

[18] *Ibid.* p. 257.
[19] *Ibid.* p. 258-60.
[20] *Ibid.* p. 292: he made a grant of tithe to Josaphat in 1199 and granted a church to the order of St Lazarus at the end of his life.
[21] *BS* X p. 1159-66.

the calendar and sanctoral, the only Jerusalem feasts inserted are Quadraginta martyrum (11 Mar.) and Quiriacus (4 May), while entries not related to the sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre include Firminus (25 Sept.) bishop of Amiens and Nicasius (11 Oct.) bishop of Rouen. In the litanies there are no Jerusalem saints, nor the petition for the patriarch. The post-Pentecost Alleluia series, nevertheless, is clearly that of the Holy Sepulchre. HS[8] is therefore the only extant example of a liturgical manuscript produced for and used by the cathedral of Acre. It also shows the variation that occurred in the sanctoral of a book from a dependent diocese of Jerusalem. This manuscript was dated by Buchthal and Folda to the third quarter of the thirteenth century. However, the references in the calendar and sanctoral to St Francis, canonized in 1228, and St Dominic, canonized in 1234, were added in a different hand at some time after the manuscript's original production. It is very unlikely, I believe, that a manuscript written after the canonization of St Francis, who visited Acre in July of 1219 and again in the winter of 1219-20[22], would not include an entry for the saint. The same should be noted with regard to St Dominic. The Dominican order came to be very prominent in Acre; three of the last four patriarchs of Jerusalem were Dominican, and when Acre fell there were twice as many Dominicans as Franciscans in their respective convents[23]. It is unlikely that a manuscript written after St Dominic's canonization would not include an entry for the saint, nor for St Peter of Verona, martyr of the Dominican order (29 Apr.), who died in 1252. If the manuscript must be assigned on art-historical grounds to the second half of the century, then we would have to assume that it is a copy of a manuscript produced in the thirteenth century before 1228. Still, the absence of the feasts of the two popular mendicant saints and the palaeographical aspect of the manuscript, written above top line like HS[6], rather suggest an attribution to the first half of the century[24]. This manuscript was brought out of Acre by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre who took it to their house in Perugia, where «s Maria delaneue» (5 Aug.), in an Italian wording, and several other entries were added to the calendar.

[22] FOLDA, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 10.

[23] *Ibid.* p. 19 n. 81.

[24] The manuscript seems to me written above top line; this was confirmed to me by Francesco Tommasi who looked at the manuscript in Perugia; however, according to Folda HS[8] is written below top line; see FOLDA, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 215 no. A; on above and below top line technique of writing in Acre see also *ibid.* p. 37 n. 56.

HS[9]

Barletta, Archivio della Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro, ms. s.n. (1202-28)

HS[9], which Kohler describes as a breviary, is more precisely an ordinal, very close in content and layout to HS[5]. Whilst Giovene and Kohler observed that the calendar was Roman with Jerusalem additions, the feasts of Jerusalem are present in the calendar in the original hand[25]; they also appear, with their office, in the sanctoral. Most of the other entries in the original hand are also common to the twelfth-century Jerusalem calendar[26], with the exception of Martialis (30 June) bishop of Limoges and Cessator (15 Nov.), supposedly thirty-second bishop of Limoges[27], who also appears among the collects of HS[7]. The later addition of the entries for St Francis and St Dominic suggests that the calendar was compiled sometime between 1173 (canonization of St Thomas Becket) and 1228 (canonization of St Francis). The presence of the two saints venerated in Limoges points towards Acre as place of production. It is in fact in the calendars of the manuscripts produced since the move of the canons and patriarch of Jerusalem to Acre that we find the appearance of regional French saints. St Martial can also be found in the calendar of HS[13], a sacramentary ascribable to the patriarchate of Gerold of Lausanne, datable to 1225-28. The presence of St Cessator provides, I believe, the answers to the dating and commission of this manuscript. Despite being quoted by Bernard Itier (thirteenth century) as the thirty-second bishop of Limoges, Cessator does not appear in the episcopal list drawn by Adhémar of Chabannes († 1034). Modern hagiographers suggest therefore that Cessator was a local saint transformed by tradition into a bishop who had fought the Saracens in the eighth century[28]. His relics are kept in the church of Berneuil (Haute-Vienne), of which he is patron saint, and there is also a mention of a translation of his relics, at an unspecified date, to Saint-Xantin, in the Corrèze. Finally a church was dedicated to the saint in Limoges. Located extra muros, it also contained the relics of Aurelianus, and

[25] Such as Mathia (30 Jan., cancelled), Resurrectio domini (27 Mar., erased), Ierosolimis b Quiriacus ep et m (4 May), Dedicatio ecclesie Dominici sepulcri (15 July, erased), Zacheus ep (23 Aug.), Abraham Ysaac et Iacob ix lc (6 Oct.), Ierusalem Saba ab ix lc (5 Dec.), Lazarus ep (17 Dec.) quem dominus suscitauit ix lc.

[26] Eulalia (12 Feb.), Quadraginta mm (11 Mar.), Margarita (20 July), Pater noster Augustinus ep (28 Aug.), Lambertus (17 Sept.), Eligius (1 Dec.), Thomas (29 Dec.) Cantuariensis ep et m.

[27] *BS* III p. 1161.

[28] J. L. BAUDOT and L. CHAUSSIN, *Vies des saintes et des bienheureux*, 13 vols, Paris, 1935-59, XI p. 467-8; see also *DHGE* XII col. 253.

was destroyed during the Revolution. The inscription of such a local saint could hardly be solicited but by somebody coming from that very area of Limoges and its immediate surroundings, and that person was, I think, Peter of Limoges, archbishop of Caesarea (1199-1237). As we have already seen, Peter was probably the person responsible for the production, around 1200, of HS^7, the unusual breviary that presents the liturgical use of Chartres. It is plausible that, in more settled years, Peter commissioned another text for his archdiocese, this time making sure that it correctly reflected the liturgy of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. As on f. 41vb of the ordinal there is a chronicle of the Holy Land for the years 1097-1202, the manuscript must have been composed for Peter of Caesarea between 1202 and 1228 (canonization of St Francis). The place of production was very likely Acre, where the activities of the surviving kingdom of Jerusalem were concentrating, and certainly not in Jerusalem, at this time in the hands of Saladin. There is no compelling reason to believe that this ordinal was ever used in Jerusalem in the period during which the Latins were back in the Holy City (1229-44). As it stands, it is a book that contains the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, which of course was practised within the archbishopric of Caesarea. It is not unreasonable to hypothesize that this ordinal might have been among those books eventually brought to Jerusalem to be used by the re-established canons of the Holy Sepulchre. Peter of Caesarea went to Jerusalem in 1229, when, acting on Patriarch Gerold's orders, he placed the city under an interdict, to demonstrate the patriarch's strong disagreement with Frederick II over his negotiation with Sultan al-Kamil of Egypt for the restoration of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth to the Latins[29].

The manuscript must have been taken to Barletta[30] some time between the loss of Acre in 1291 and 1304, date of the death of Raoul of Granville, whose obituary note was added to the calendar. Fourteenth-century hands added to the calendar a number of southern

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[29] HAMILTON p. 258-9.

[30] The church of the Holy Sepulchre of Barletta came into the possession of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem some time between 1128 and 1138; while it is not listed in the general confirmation of their possessions granted by Honorius II in 1128 (DE ROZIÈRE no. 16), it appears for the first time in a confirmation granted in 1138 by Innocent II (DE ROZIÈRE no. 17); see KOHLER p. 460 and G. BRESC-BAUTIER, Les possessions des églises de Terre-Sainte en Italie du sud (Pouille, Calabre, Sicile), in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo. Relazioni e comunicazioni nelle prime giornate normanno-sveve (Bari, maggio 1973)*, Rome, 1975 (Fonti e Studi del *Corpus membranarum italicarum*, 11), p. 7-34.

Italian saints[31] and a few obituary notes, among which, in red ink, is found on 3 November: « Obiit venerabilis dominus Ridul[fus] patriarcha Ierosolymitanus de ordine predicatorum ». This is the obituary note for the Dominican Raoul of Granville, first titular patriarch of Jerusalem (1291?-1304), who had previously been the provincial prior of the Holy Land, according to Bernard Gui[32]. Raoul, appointed patriarch of Jerusalem by Celestine V, was consecrated in Paris by the archbishop of Rouen at the end of 1294. After Celestine's abdication he was deposed by Boniface VIII and reinstated into the office in 1295. It is not clear where he spent the ten years of his patriarchate. His presence in Italy is documented in 1295 and in 1304. In a letter from Rome dated 7 March 1304, Benedict XI authorized Raoul to alienate, for his own profit, as well as for making provisions for his own burial, « de bonis mobilibus ecclesiasticis tue dispositioni seu administrationi commissis »[33]. With another letter from Perugia dated 5 June 1304, Benedict XI granted Raoul the administration of the diocese of Brindisi (Apulia), the reason being, as before, the necessity to provide some form of income for the destitute patriarch in partibus[34]. There are documents mentioning his presence specifically in Barletta in 1299 and 1300[35]. His obituary entry into the calendar of HS^9 may suggest that Raoul spent his last years with the canons of Barletta, and that at his death, if not before, he left to them the ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre which had come into his possession as patriarch of Jerusalem, as seen from Benedict XI's letter.

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[31] Such as Leucius (11 Jan.) bishop of Brindisi, Sabinus (9 Feb.) bishop of Canosa, Barbatus (20 Feb.) bishop of Benevento, the apparition of St Michael in Monte Gargano (8 May), the translation of St Nicholas of Myra to Bari (9 May), Cathaldus (12 May), the Irish saint who died in Taranto on the way to a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and who is venerated as a bishop and patron saint of the city; Bartholomeus (25 Aug.) of Benevento; the apparition of St Michael in Monte Tumba (16 Oct.); Maurus (25 Oct.) bishop of Bisceglie; Elisabeth of Hungary (19 Nov.) canonized in 1235; and Rogerius (30 Dec.), bishop of Canne, whose body was translated to Barletta and venerated there as patron saint.

[32] BERNARDUS GUIDONIS, *De prelatis ordinis FF. Predicatorum* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 5486), p. 52; he had also been Celestine V's penitentiary; see KOHLER p. 462-3.

[33] *Registres de Benoît XI*, ed. C. GRANDJEAN, Paris, 1905 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2ᵉ s.), col. 561 no. 935; KOHLER p. 465.

[34] *Registres de Benoît XI*, ed. GRANDJEAN, col. 564 no. 944; KOHLER p. 464.

[35] F. TOMMASI, Fondi documentari « ultramarini » in Italia : l'archivio del santo sepolcro da Acri a Perugia, in *Militia sancti sepulcri. Idee e istituzioni. Atti del colloquio internazionale tenuto presso la Pontificia Università del Laterano 10-12 aprile 1996*, ed. K. ELM and C. D. FONSECA, Vatican City, 1998, p. 420-36, at 426.

HS^{10}

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, ms. G. V. 12 (1203-10)

HS^{10} is a pontifical composed for the church of Tyre at the time of archbishop Clarembaldus of Broies (1203-10)[36]. On f. 52^{r} the text of the «Ordinatio ad consecrandum episcopum» specifically mentions the church of Tyre, as do the «Ordinatio abbatis» and the «Professio abbatis» on f. 59^{v} and f. 61^{r}[37]. This manuscript was extensively studied in the 1960s by Hans Eberhard Mayer, who had the good fortune to work on it before it was restored and rebound some time after 1967. The binding, which Mayer describes as paperboards, must have been loose or even partially detached, as he was able to note a paper pasted onto the sewn gatherings with an inscription in a seventeenth/eighteenth-century hand which read: «Ms. Pontificale et Rituale Tyrensis ecclesiae [et?] Bo...» where the suggestion of reading «Bo» as Bonacursus is, in Mayer's words, as hazardous as it is tempting[38]. According to Mayer, the manuscript was probably brought to Siena by the last archbishop of Tyre before the loss of the Holy Land, Bonacursus de Gloria (1272-95)[39], a Dominican, probably of Italian origin. Some marginal notes in an early-fourteenth-century hand adapt the text with special reference to the church of Siena[40]. In 1294 Bonacursus was apparently given the administration of the church of Luni in Liguria by Celestine V[41]. The manuscript, though, stayed in Siena, where in the seventeenth/eighteenth century it was owned by the Accademia degli Intronati, whose collection eventually became part of the Siena public library.

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[36] H. E. MAYER, Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21, 1967, p. 141-232, at 148.

[37] F. 52^{r} [Ordinatio ad vocandum et examinandum seu consecrandum episcopum.] «*...Reuerendissimo archiepiscopo N. Tyrensis sedis dignitate conspicuo, clerus et populus nostre ecclesie tocius deuocionis famulatum...*»; f. 59^{v} [Bn vel ordinatio abbatis.] «*...Vis Tyrensi ecclesie et michi meisque successoribus subiectionem et obedientiam exhibere...*»; f. 61^{r} [Professio abbatis.] «*...Ego N. humilis cenobii beati ill. abbas promitto tibi, pater N., et successoribus tuis atque matri ecclesie Tyrensi debitam subiectionem atque obedientiam secundum statuta sanctorum patrum...*»

[38] *Ibid.* p. 213-4.

[39] EUBEL I p. 534.

[40] On f. 39^{r}: «Dominus episcopus Senensis», on f. 40^{r}: «Dominus noster Senensis».

[41] MAYER, *Das Pontifikale*, p. 150.

HS^{11}

London, British Library, ms. Additional 57528 (1214-17)

HS^{11} is an early-thirteenth-century pontifical based on a late-eleventh / early-twelfth-century Romano-Germanic pontifical but includes components of the later Pontifical of the Roman Curia. Therefore it represents a transitional exemplar which corrects or completes the twelfth-century pontifical with that of the Curia, already known at the time of composition of the manuscript[42]. According to Wormald it was written by the same scribe who wrote the sacramentary HS^{13}, and both manuscripts were assigned by Buchthal and Wormald to the period 1228-44[43]. The manuscript contains on f. 205^{r} the oath of obedience to the archbishop of Apamea by the bishop elect of Valania (Bâniyâs), dated 6 December 1214. Apamea was one of the metropolitan sees within the patriarchate of Antioch. While the city of Apamea was captured by Nur-ad-Din in 1149 and never recovered by the Franks, part of the diocese remained in their hands, therefore archbishops continued to be appointed[44]. Valania was one of the sees that remained in Frankish control[45]; it became vacant in 1215 and Odo, archdeacon of Beirut, was elected[46].

While a pontifical would not have been commissioned in Jerusalem, at this time in Muslim hands, it is possible, as Folda points out as well, that the manuscript, like many others, was commissioned in Acre, the main cultural centre at the time. The only revealing information which might direct us to the origin of the manuscript can be gathered from the litanies on f. 142^{r}, where Magnus, twenty-fifth bishop of Milan[47], is the only regional feature among the confessors and Savina, patroness of Lodi (Milan)[48], among the virgins. It is possible that the insertion of Magnus and Savina are reminiscent of the Ambrosian liturgy and should be connected with Peter II of Antioch,

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[42] M. ANDRIEU, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen âge*, 4 vols, Rome, 1938-41 (Studi e Testi, 86-88, 99), I p. 102 and 112.

[43] F. WORMALD, The Pontifical of Apamea, in *Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 5, 1954, p. 271-9, at 276.

[44] HAMILTON p. 40-1.

[45] *Ibid.* p. 41.

[46] *Cart. Hosp.* no. 1432; HAMILTON p. 223.

[47] Originally venerated on 1 November, with the introduction of the feast of All Saints into the Ambrosian martyrology his feast was moved to 5 November. Buried in the church of St Eustorgio in Milan, in 1248 his relics were recognized by the Dominicans who at that time officiated in the basilica; see *BS* VIII p. 546; *Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani*, ed. M. MAGISTRETTI and U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, Milan, 1917, col. 271-2.

[48] Venerated on 30 January; see *BS* XI p. 698-9; *Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani*, col. 362-3.

who had from 1206 to 1209 been bishop of Ivrea, a town within the archbishopric of Milan[49]. Peter II was patriarch of Antioch between 1209 and 1217[50]. A Cistercian monk of La Ferté (Haute Marne) before being appointed bishop of Ivrea, he founded on the Black Mountain the Cistercian house of Sta Maria de Jubino, which became a daughter house of La Ferté in 1214[51]. This manuscript was probably written between 1214, date of the oath copied on f. 205^r, and 1217, date of Peter II's death.

There are in HS[11] Cistercian additions in a fourteenth-century hand which indicate that the manuscript was left by Peter II to the community of Cistercians he had founded, and where he probably spent the last days of his life. In 1268, because of the conquest of Antioch and the Black Mountain by Baybars, the Cistercians of Sta Maria de Jubino took refuge on Cyprus at Beaulieu, a Cistercian house of the Morimond family[52]. From there they eventually moved to Europe, probably to Genoa, where the community joined the Cistercians of Sta Maria de Zerbino[53]. By the seventeenth century this pontifical was in the possession of the Cistercians of Chaalis (diocese of Senlis), of the Pontigny family[54]. Another way by which this manuscript may have reached France is through Gerard, bishop of Valania, who in 1289 was given the administration of the priory of St Samson of Orléans, which belonged to the abbey of Mount Sion, and by 1299 was commander of the Hospitaller house at Senlis[55]. If the manuscript stayed at Valania and was eventually taken by Gerard to Senlis in 1299, it would have been by the fourteenth century in the area of Chaalis, which was part of the diocese of Senlis. It seems more likely however, that the passage of HS[11] from Antioch to Chaalis was the result of the movements of relocation of the Cistercian

[49] Ivrea was a suffragan of the church of Milan until 1515, when Turin became a metropolitan church taking Ivrea and Mondovì, previously part of the archdiocese of Milan, under its jurisdiction; see *La diocesi di Como, l'arcidiocesi di Gorizia, l'amministrazione apostolica ticinese, poi diocesi di Lugano l'arcidiocesi di Milano*, ed. P. Braun and H. J. Gilomen, Basel and Frankfurt am Main, 1989 (Helvetia Sacra, I/6), p. 308.

[50] Hamilton p. 219-24; Bolton, *Serpent in the Dust*, p. 162 and 175.

[51] B. Hamilton, The Cistercians in the Crusader States, in *One Yet Two. Monastic Tradition East and West*, ed. M. B. Pennington, Kalamazoo, Mich., 1976 (Cistercian Studies, 29), p. 405-22, at 408-10, repr. in B. Hamilton, *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades, (900-1300)*, London, 1979, X.

[52] Coureas p. 223.

[53] Hamilton, *The Cistercians*, p. 420.

[54] *DHGE* XII col. 260.

[55] Riley-Smith, *Latin Titular Bishops*, p. 9-10.

communities that in the fourteenth and fifteenth century had to leave the Latin East.

HS[12] **Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 323** (1223-25)

The Riccardiana Psalter opens with a calendar that contains all the feasts of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, with only a few unusual entries relating to northern Italy[56]. The litanies, French in their general appearance, do not list the Italian saints; instead the English royal saints Edmund and Edward the Confessor appear among the martyrs. Benedict is listed first among the confessors, and Anne is also in a predominant position, listed third among the virgins. On f. 172^r there is a petition for the abbess and the king, but not for the patriarch. On f. 174^r there is a prayer Pro abbatissa and another Pro comite nostro. These data suggest that this psalter was copied from a text composed for the Benedictine convent of nuns of Sta Anna in Jerusalem. They moved to Acre after 1187[57] and never went back to Jerusalem, as their convent remained in Muslim possession even in the period 1229-44. Therefore this psalter was clearly produced in Acre.

According to Boase[58], the table of solar cycles of 28 years begins in 1100 and ends in 1212; this suggests strongly that the book was written in the fifth cycle, that is between 1212 and 1240, a date borne out by a table for the computation of Easter which begins with 1230. Also according to Boase, the petition Pro comite nostro may refer to count John of Brienne, former king of Jerusalem (1210-12), and regent (1212-25) for his daughter Isabel; he died in 1237.

According to Buchthal, this psalter was probably commissioned *c.*1235 by Emperor Frederick II to be sent to Worms and presented as a gift to his future third wife, Princess Isabel of England, sister of King Henry III, « to remind the Emperor's English bride, as well as his German subjects, of his outstanding success as the protector of the Holy Sepulchre »[59]. If, as Buchthal noted, the decoration of the psalter reflects German and Sicilian features, this appearance, as well as the presence of northern Italian saints in the calendar, might be

[56] Firmus et Rusticus (9 Aug.), martyrs in Verona, venerated in Verona and Bergamo, Cassianus (13 Aug.), bishop of Todi, Umbria, Felix et Fortunatus (14 Aug.), venerated in Vicenza, Leontius et Carpoforus (20 Aug.), venerated in Vicenza, Genesius (25 Aug.), bishop of Brescello, Alexander (26 Aug.), venerated in Bergamo.

[57] Hamilton p. 299-300.

[58] Boase, *Ecclesiastical Art*, p. 129-30.

[59] Buchthal p. 41.

explained as being copied from books coming from the royal entourage. By virtue of Frederick's second marriage to Isabel II, queen regnant of Jerusalem (1212-28), he had taken up from Isabel's father, count John of Brienne, the regency of the kingdom from 1225, the date of their marriage, and he continued to act as regent in name of his son Conrad, legitimate king of Jerusalem, until 1243. Frederick was in his kingdom only briefly in 1228 and 1229, when he concluded the treaty with the sultan of Egypt to regain possession of the Holy places, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. After that he left never to return, exercising his authority through German and Italian bailiffs[60]. The manuscript clearly never reached Worms, and it was still in Acre in the late thirteenth century, when the obituary note for a Count Roger, possibly Roger of Sanseverino, bailiff of Jerusalem on behalf of Charles of Anjou in the years 1277-82, was added to the calendar on 21 June.

If this were the case, there would be no reason to include a prayer for count John of Brienne, as he and Frederick II had been enemies and by 1235 John had become Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and would surely have been described as *Imperator*. If this psalter was produced at Frederick II's request, it is more likely that the count referred to in the prayer was Richard, earl of Cornwall, Isabel's brother, who went on crusade and stayed in Acre from October 1240 to May 1241[61]. He would then have commissioned the psalter in Acre at Frederick II's request. In this case the date of production should be moved to *c.*1240.

This manuscript clearly requires further and fresh investigation. A number of elements suggest a completely different scenario. First the saints in the litanies: Eadmund king of East Anglia and Edward the Confessor are certainly English saints, but set in a contest which is predominantly northern French; in particular there are no English female saints. It is my impression that the selection of saints in the litanies has nothing to do with the supposed recipient of the psalter, but reflects the exemplar used for the production. If anything, it should be retained as a clue to study the origin of the Benedictine female foundation in Jerusalem. The prayer for a count should refer, naturally, to John of Brienne and his title of count while king regent in the years 1212-25. Finally, the Italian features of the calendar and of the decoration of the manuscript do indeed have a royal connection, but due to a different historical event. In search for Western support, at

[60] BUCHTHAL p. 39-40.
[61] These observations were kindly provided by Bernard Hamilton.

the end of 1222 John of Brienne, together with the patriarch Ralph of Merencourt and the grand master of the Hospitallers, went to Verona to discuss the possibility of a marriage between Frederick II and John's daughter Isabel II (queen regnant 1212-28)[62]. To sum up, the period during which the apparently various and discordant elements of this psalter find a common meaning is in the years 1223-25, that is from John of Brienne's return from Verona, probably with some royal memento, and the end of his regency, because of Isabel's marriage to Frederick II. This psalter was a gift to Isabel II, not to Isabel of England, either from her father or from her spouse-to-be. After the loss of Acre in 1291, it found its way to Italy, where it was used by a Dominican sister of a convent of San Silvestro, probably near Florence, which I have so far been unable to locate.

HS[13] **London, British Library, ms. Egerton 2902** (1225-28)

HS[13] is a sacramentary ascribable to the patriarchate of Gerold of Lausanne (1225-39), formerly abbot of Cluny and bishop of Valence, in Dauphiné, 1220-25[63]. Apart from the omission of the translation of St Augustine (11 Oct.), in place of which the calendar records the feast of Germanus Nicasius and Quirinus, the calendar retains all the characteristics of previous calendars from the Holy Sepulchre, to which are now added various entries connected with the South of France[64]. The new entries though, with the exception of Iustus et Pastor, are only included in the calendar. If masses were ever to be sung for those saints, they had to be taken from the common of saints, as there is no sign of proper masses in the sanctoral. Strictly speaking, therefore, the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre appears to be unvaried, though unfortunately the series of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses cannot be verified, as they have not been included.

This manuscript was assigned by Wormald and Buchthal to the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem 1228-44, but a few more considerations have to be made. Certainly the sudden presence in the calendar of saints from the South of France should be related

[62] HAMILTON p. 255.
[63] EUBEL I p. 512-13.
[64] Pontius (11 May), venerated in Montpellier and Thomières, close to Narbonne, Martialis (30 June), bishop of Limoges, Iustus et Pastor (6 Aug.), patron saints of Narbonne, included in the sanctoral as well, Salvius (10 Sept.), bishop of Albi, Apollinaris (5 Oct.), bishop of Valence, Geraldus of Aurillac (13 Oct.), Amantius (4 Nov.), bishop of Rodez, Veranus (13 Nov.), bishop of Cavaillon, Annianus (17 Nov.), bishop of Orléans, Trophinus (29 Dec.), bishop of Arles.

to the patriarchate of Gerold, but Gerold never went to Jerusalem. After his arrival from Europe in 1225 he stayed in Acre, and even when Frederick II managed to take back Jerusalem, in 1229, he did not restore his see there, but appointed the dean of Jaffa and the abbot of the Mount of Olives as his vicars in Jerusalem[65]. Secondly, the addition of the missa pro regina on f. 124 in a nearly contemporary hand clearly suggests that the manuscript was used at a time when a queen ruled in the Holy Land. Isabel II, queen regnant between 1212 and 1228, is the only possibility[66]. The book must moreover have been used by Gerold himself or his immediate entourage; even considering the return of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre to Jerusalem and the possible re-opening of the scriptorium, it would be hard otherwise to explain why they would want to include all the southern French saints found in this manuscript. Therefore it is more reasonable to consider HS^{13} as written in Acre between 1225, the arrival of Gerold in Acre, and 1228, the end of the reign of Isabel II. The addition in a late-thirteenth-century hand of the mass for St Acatius (f. 151^{v}), who was venerated in Nicosia, suggests that this manuscript was used in Cyprus, before finding its way to Italy in the following century and being used by an unidentified community of Augustinian Friars Hermits.

B — Later Thirteenth Century

To the second period of liturgical manuscript production in Acre can be ascribed two manuscripts which, in their codicological and palaeographical aspects, closely resemble the many non-liturgical manuscripts produced, according to Buchthal and Folda, in the Acre *atelier* active in the second half of the thirteenth century. Their aspect is characterized by a marked influence of the French gothic style.

HS^{14}

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 10478 (1256-61)

HS^{14} is a breviary made for the Templars in Acre. Dated *post* 1232, probably 1240-44, by Leroquais, it has been assigned by Buchthal to Jerusalem, 1229-44. Folda dates it to *c.*1240. Three distinc-

[65] DE ROZIERE no. 178; KOHLER p. 449 n. 3; HAMILTON p. 261.

[66] Other queens regnant of the late-twelfth/thirteenth century are Sybil 1186-90, Isabel I 1192-1205, and Maria 1205-12; see HAMILTON, *ad indicem*. But dating the manuscript back to these periods would leave unexplained the Southern French inclusions in the calendar.

tive components can be isolated: the calendar, which originally reflects the Metz liturgy, has been adapted to the use of the Holy Sepulchre, with the exception of the feast of the liberation of Jerusalem and dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre (15 July), which does not appear. The original entry for the Franciscan Anthony of Padua (13 June), who died in 1231, and the absence of an entry for St Dominic, canonized in 1234, suggest that the calendar dates from between 1231 and 1234. St Francis, canonized in 1228, is added to the calendar and he is not in the sanctoral. Pages 15 and 16, written in a different hand, contain a list of fasting days « que cum ieiuniis et sine ieiunio in domo templi seruantur... ». According to Simonetta Cerrini it is an extract from the Templar *retrais*, that is to say the legislation of the order, datable to 1250-75. The possibility that the house of the Temple actually refers to the Templum domini, as Leroquais suggested, has to be ruled out. The area of the temple, which included Templum Domini and Templum Salomonis, was retained by the Muslims even during the period 1229-44[67]. Finally, the breviary presents in the sanctoral the feasts of the Holy Sepulchre, again with the exception of the liberation of Jerusalem and dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The chant repertory is that of the Holy Sepulchre, even if there is no mention of the saints of Jerusalem in the litanies, nor of the patriarch in the following petitions.

The circulation of a calendar from Metz reused for the production of a breviary for the Templar community can be connected, I believe, to the arrival in Acre, in June 1256, of the new patriarch of Jerusalem, Jacques Pantaleon (1255-61), who had previously served as archdeacon of Liège, and who had been appointed bishop of Verdun in 1252. Pantaleon was also to be the future Pope Urban IV (1261-64)[68]. The attribution of HS^{14} to the period covered by the patriarchate of Jacques Pantaleon who was appointed in 1255 and reached Acre in 1256, would explain both the circulation of a calendar of Metz, and the palaeographical aspect of the manuscript, which is typical of Acre production in the second half of the thirteenth century. Moreover it would fit better with the dating of the *retrais*. The addition of Scilominus[69] (21 Nov.) to the calendar of HS^{14}, suggests that this manuscript must have spent some time in Cyprus before

[67] KOHLER p. 447 n. 1.

[68] HAMILTON p. 267-8, 270.

[69] H. DELEHAYE, Saints de Cypre, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 26, 1907, p. 161-301, at 252.

being taken to Italy. It was probably in the possession of a Carmelite community even before reaching Piacenza, as the numerous Carmelite additions to the calendar seem to suggest.

HS[15]

London, British Library, ms. Egerton 3153 (1262-70)

HS[15] is a missal dated by Buchthal to the period 1250-75. There are no saints of the Holy Sepulchre in the calendar or in the sanctoral. The series of Alleluia verses for the Sundays after the octave of Pentecost is also quite different to that found in the Holy Sepulchre manuscripts. This manuscript can nonetheless be attributed to the use of the Holy Sepulchre on the basis of the following indications: on stylistic grounds, as noted by Buchthal; because of the entry in the calendar of « Liberatio s Ierusalem » (15 July); and because of the rubric, in the temporal, for the procession on Palm Sunday (f. 67r): « Hic est ordo processionis in ramis palmarum more sancti sepulchri Ierusalem ». The entries in the calendar suggest a specific area in south-western France[70]; none of these local French saints, however, is present in the sanctoral, and its appearance is that of a sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre without the feasts specifically related to the church of the Holy Sepulchre itself. The only notable local entries are related to Naples: Herasmus (2 June), bishop of Formies, Nicander and Marcianus (17 June), patron saints of the diocese of Venafro, and Germanus (30 Oct.), bishop of Capua.

Alexander IV appointed Thomas Agni of Lentino, Dominican prior of Naples, as legate *a latere* to Acre and bishop of Bethlehem in 1258[71]. Thomas played a key political, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical role in dealing with the crisis caused by the Mongol advance into Syria in 1260 and the protracted war which arose in 1256 between Venetian and Genoese merchants (the war of St Sabas). Even in ecclesiastical terms he was the highest authority, as the current patriarch, Jacques Pantaleon, was in Rome and never returned to Acre. When Jacques Pantaleon was elected pope in 1261, he appointed William, bishop of Agen (1247-63)[72] new patriarch of Jerusalem, and eventually in 1263 recalled Thomas, who all this time had been act-

[70] Sulpicius (17 Jan.), archbishop of Bourges, Eutropius (30 Apr.), bishop of Saintes, Austregesilus (20 May), archbishop of Bourges, Ausonius (22 May), bishop of Angoulême, Anianus (14 June), bishop of Orléans, Caprasius (20 Oct.), martyr of Agen, Paulus (12 Dec.), bishop of Narbonne.

[71] Hamilton p. 269, 276-7.

[72] Gams p. 479; Eubel I p. 214.

ing as head of the Church of Jerusalem, to be his vicar in Rome. Thomas was again in Acre from 1272, when he was appointed patriarch (1272-77).

This missal was composed during the patriarchate of William II of Agen (1262-70). Not unusually for the manuscripts produced in the Holy Land, the structure of the book displays a composition from multiple sources. It is likely that when a missal was ordered by the new patriarch William, a text circulating during the period of Thomas's legatine authority was used as a model, as the entries related to Naples in the sanctoral would suggest. In the calendar were introduced all the feasts associated with the new patriarch, of which some also received an additional entry into the sanctoral[73]. In the fourteenth century this manuscript was already circulating in southern France, where it was purchased by the prior of Prouille.

[73] In the sanctoral, in the lower margin of f. 141rb, has been added the mass for the translation of St Exuperius (14 June), bishop of Toulouse; the same hand added, in the lower margin of f. 143r, the mass for the translation of St Saturninus (25 June) and, in the lower margin of f. 163ra, the mass for the deposition of St Saturninus.

CHAPTER IV

Manuscripts from Cyprus

The Latin Church of Cyprus was organized by Celestine III with a bull dated 20 February 1196, and lasted until the Turkish conquest of the island in 1571[1]. To regulate the establishment of the Latin Church in Cyprus, the pope appointed as his representatives the archdeacon « B. » of Laodicea and Alan, archdeacon of Lydda and chancellor to Aimery of Lusignan, king of Cyprus (1194-1205)[2]. Nicosia became the seat of the Latin archbishop, with three suffragan dioceses at Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta. The chapter of Nicosia, represented by clergymen who arrived in the island either with Guy of Lusignan (1192-94) or later with Aimery (1194-1205), in 1196 elected Alan to be the first archbishop[3]. Lydda of course was a suffragan diocese of Jerusalem, and it is therefore reasonable to infer that the liturgy of Jerusalem was practised within the first Latin archbishopric of Nicosia, even if the Latin Church in Cyprus was made directly subject to the Holy See.

The kingdom of Cyprus was united with that of Jerusalem under Aimery from 1198 to 1205, then again from 1268 under Hugh III (1267-84). However, even when they were two separate kingdoms, the ecclesiastical connection between Cyprus and Jerusalem was uninterrupted, as proved by records attesting patriarchal activities in Cyprus in 1222, 1231-33, 1254, 1267 (the visitation of the Church of Cyprus by the patriarch of Jerusalem, William of Agen), and 1291[4].

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[1] Hill II p. 13, 46 and III p. 950-1037 ; Coureas p. 3-4 and 60 ; on the difficult relationship between the Latin and the Greek Church on the island see Hill III p. 1041-1104 ; Coureas p. 251ss.

[2] R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Göttingen, 1985 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 136), p. 352-4 no. 173.

[3] Hill II p. 46-8 ; Coureas p. 4 and 60.

[4] Hill II p. 79 and 159 ; N. Coureas and C. Schabel, *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, Nicosia, 1997 (Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, 25), no. 38, 92, 43-4, 47, 100-6.

The survival of three liturgical books of the Holy Sepulchre made in fourteenth-century Cyprus, combined with the information we have on the ecclesiastical history of the island, proves that the Latin Church of Cyprus, on its establishment, adopted the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem.

The addition in HS[1] of the mass for the vigil of St Acatius[5] in a twelfth-century hand, in HS[13] of the mass for the saint himself in a thirteenth-century hand, and in the calendar of HS[14] of Scilominus (21 Nov.), show the minimum of attention to the local Cypriot hagiographical tradition since the inclusion of Cyprus in the ecclesiastical map of the Holy Land in the late twelfth century. It should also be noted that the presence of Hilarion (21 Oct.) and Sozomenus (21 Nov.) in Hos[21], a breviary produced in the late sixteenth century in Malta for the Hospitallers, shows that the adaptation which had occurred to the sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre at the time of the establishment of the Latin Church in Cyprus had become part of the liturgical tradition of the Holy Sepulchre.

The loss of Acre in 1291 marked the end of the crusader states and an emergency move of all ecclesiastical institutions with what could be saved of their archives and libraries to Cyprus, the sole outpost of Western Christendom in the eastern Mediterranean. The Templars and the Hospitallers established their headquarters in the island, as did many of the other religious communities[6]. From there a new, permanent location was chosen among the European possessions held by each of the religious foundations. The monks of the abbey of the Valley of Josaphat settled permanently in Messina, Sicily, those of Sta Maria Latina in Agira, Sicily, in the churches of Sta Maria Magdalena and Sta Maria Latina respectively[7]. The members of the chapter of Mount Sion, after an initial move to the church of the Holy Spirit in Caltanisetta, Sicily, established themselves from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century in the collegiate church of St Samson in Orléans[8]. The canons of Templum Domini found refuge in Bari, Apulia, in the church of St Clemens, one of their Italian possessions. Apparently the canons of the Mount of Olives, who had

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[5] H. Delehaye, Saints de Chypre, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 26, 1907, p. 161-301, at 257: probably an erroneous transcription for Isaac, bishop of Site (?) in Cyprus, as given in the *Sinaxarius Costantinopolitanus* (col. 63-4 and 951) and in other Greek Menei; see also Acacio in *BS* I p. 140.

[6] P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 101-2; the Templars had acquired the island in 1191; the Hospitallers had a base there in 1198; Franciscans and Dominicans arrived at Cyprus in 1226; Carmelites settled in around 1234; see Hill II p. 25; Coureas p. 122-72, 215-19.

already lost their church in 1186 at the time of Saladin's conquest, did not move to Europe[9]. The order of the hospital of St Lazarus moved to Turin and the Teutonic order, temporarily, to Venice[10]. The majority of the Latin dioceses had already terminated their existence after 1187. Whereas the appointment of bishops was continued de iure, with the election of titular bishops, the chapters which used to be attached to the churches ceased to exist[11], with the exception of Nazareth, Bethlehem and the Holy Sepulchre. The chapter of Nazareth spent forty years in Padua before settling in 1326 in Barletta, Apulia, in the church of St Mary of Nazareth[12]. The chapter of Bethlehem left the bishop and eventually converted itself into the mendicant order of the Fratres Betleemitani, Stellati, or Fratres cum cruce et Stella, who lived according to the rule of St Augustine and modelled their customs on those of the Dominicans.

The last patriarch of Jerusalem actually to live in the Holy Land was the Dominican Nicholas of Hanapes (1288-91), who died as he was leaving Acre under siege, in 1291[13]. His successor, the Dominican Raoul II of Granville (1291?-1304), who had previously been the provincial prior of the Holy Land and a papal penitentiary, is first mentioned in 1294, but was probably patriarch from the end of 1291[14]. It is not clear where he spent the ten years of his patriarchate. As we have seen in Chapter III, Raoul's obituary note in HS[9] and papal bulls granting him the administration of the diocese of Brindisi, may suggest that he spent time in southern Italy with the canons of Barletta.

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[7] K. Elm, Mater Ecclesiarum in exilio. El Capítulo del Santo Sepulcro de Jerusalén desde la Caída de Acre, in *La Orden del Santo Sepulcro. I Jornadas de Estudio. Calatayud - Zaragoza, 2-5 de abril de 1991*, Madrid, 1991, p. 13-24, at 14, repr. in *id.*, *Umbilicus Mundi. Beiträge zur Geschichte Jerusalems, des Kreuzzüge, des Kapitels vom Hlg. Grab in Jerusalem und der Ritterorden*, Sint-Kruis, 1998 (Instrumenta canonissarum regularium sancti sepulcri, 7), p. 253-75; F. Tommasi, Fondi documentari «ultramarini» in Italia: l'archivio del santo sepolcro da Acri a Perugia, in *Militia sancti sepulcri. Idee e istituzioni. Atti del colloquio internazionale tenuto presso la Pontificia Università del Laterano, 10-12 aprile 1996*, ed. K. Elm and C. D. Fonseca, Vatican City, 1998, p. 420-36, at 421; documents from both institutions still survive.

[8] Elm, *Mater Ecclesiarum*, p. 14.

[9] *Ibid*. n. 7 and see A. Storme, *Le Mont des Olives*, Jerusalem, 1971, p. 62-4; Tommasi, *Fondi documentari*, p. 423.

[10] Tommasi, *Fondi documentari*, p. 421; documents still survive.

[11] *Ibid*. p. 15; see Riley-Smith, *Latin Titular Bishops*, p. 1-15.

[12] Tommasi, *Fondi documentari*, p. 424.

[13] Hamilton p. 278.

[14] L. de Mas Latrie, Les patriarches latins de Jérusalem, in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 1, 1893, p. 16-41, at 27.

It is understandable that some time had to pass before the setting up of new administrative solutions to the events caused by the loss of the Holy Land. There is no evidence of the presence of the patriarchs in Cyprus, nor that they ever owned much there until 1312, when to support themselves the patriarchs were given the administration of the see of Limassol, which carried with it exemption from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan at Nicosia[15]. Tommasi thinks that it is possible that the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre may also have spent some time in Barletta before being transferred to Perugia, where they settled in the church of San Luca[16]. He convincingly shows that the move to Perugia was a decision of the patriarch, Raoul, and/or of the pope, Benedict XI, and that it must have happened between 5 June 1304, the date of a papal letter to the patriarch at a time when the pope resided in Perugia, and 7 July 1304, the date of the pope's death. The first documentary evidence of the residence of the chapter in Perugia dates from 1316[17]. As far as the prior of the Holy Sepulchre is concerned, there is documentary evidence attesting to the presence of Hugh of Neisse in France and Catalonia in 1296, and in Poland and Germany in 1299, taking care of the administration of the many priories of the Holy Sepulchre across Europe[18]. With time these communities inevitably led a more and more independent life, creating their own new canonical organizations, and ultimately becoming independent communities. Indeed, when in 1489 Innocent VIII, with the Bull *Cum solerti*, suppressed the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre and transferred its possessions to the order of St John, while the

[15] In 1312 Clement V secured revenues in Cyprus for Peter of Pleine-Chassagne bishop of Rodez and papal legate to the East (and appointed patriarch of Jerusalem in 1314); TOMMASI, *Fondi documentari*, p. 427. Letters of John XXII and Benedict XII, dating from the period 1322 to 1326, granted the administration of the see of Limassol to Peter of Pleine-Chassagne, Raymond Bequin, and Peter of La Palud, successively patriarchs of Jerusalem; HILL II p. 193 n. 2. It is significant that the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. lat. 7241, was still in Cyprus in the middle of the fourteenth century, as in 1367 Philippe de Mézières, chancellor to King Peter I of Cyprus, brought it with him first to Venice then to France; TOMMASI, *Fondi documentari*, p. 432.

[16] O. GURRIERI, *La Chiesa di San Luca Evangelista del Sovrano Ordine di Malta*, Perugia, 1973; TOMMASI, *Fondi documentari*, p. 420-36.

[17] TOMMASI, *Fondi documentari*, p. 430.

[18] Barletta and Piazza Armerina in Italy, Calatayud, Barcelona, and Logroño in Spain, Warwick and Thetford in England, Miechòw in Poland, Prague in Bohemia, Komploss and Glogovnice in Hungary, Denkendorf in Germany and La Vinadière in France.

canons of Perugia capitulated[19], most of these other foundations, with the support of the secular power of their respective countries, managed to survive[20].

We have seen how manuscripts produced in Acre such as HS[8] and HS[9], were brought to Italy to be used by those very communities of canons of the Holy Sepulchre that had decided to settle there. The evidence provided by a group of manuscripts that present the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre and were produced in Cyprus strongly suggests how, for at least another century, the archbishopric of Nicosia kept alive the tradition of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. HS[16] was written in Cyprus for the Latin canonical community of Bellapaïs (originally known as Episcopia). HS[17] was also written in Cyprus, either for an individual or a community associated with the Holy Sepulchre. Finally HS[18] has to be connected with the chapter of Sta Sophia of Nicosia, as well as to the royal entourage of Peter I, king of Jerusalem and Cyprus. What these three manuscripts have in common is their conformity to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre. The introduction of the veneration of a few Cypriot feasts, attests to the minimum of adaptation to the local liturgical environment; however, what is most noticeable is the continuation of the tradition of the Holy Sepulchre in its more representative, Jerusalem, form.

HS[16] **Saint Wandrille, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye, ms. P. 12** (1308-15)

HS[16] is a breviary that was written in Cyprus between 1308 and 1315. The date can be established by the inscription in the calendar, in the original hand in red ink, of the obituary note of Guy of Ibelin[21], a grandson of the homonymous constable of Cyprus († after 1255),

[19] The community of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre of San Luca in Perugia was dissolved in 1506; see ELM, *Mater ecclesiarum*, p. 19; TOMMASI, *Fondi documentari*, p. 435.

[20] ELM, *Mater ecclesiarum*, p. 16-24. The favour shown by Frederick III, his son Maximilian, as well as by other European leaders obliged Alexander VI in 1497 to annul as far as possible the decision of his predecessor. The possessions of the order not yet incorporated by the Hospitallers continued to exist; see K. ELM, L'Ordre des chanoines réguliers du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem, in A. M. COURTIEU-CAPT and E. GILOMEN-SCHENKEL, *Die Antoniter, die Chorherren von heiligen Grab in Jerusalem und die Hospitaliter vom heiligen Geist in der Schweiz*, Basel and Frankfurt am Main, 1996 (Helvetia Sacra, IV/4), p. 137-44, at 140.

[21] W. H. RUDT DE COLLENBERG, Les Ibelin au XIIIe et XIVe siècles. Généalogie compilée principalement selon les registres du Vatican, in *Epeteris tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon*, 9, 1979, p. 117-265 at 185; repr. in *id.*, *Familles de l'Orient latin XIIe-XIVe siècles*, London, 1983, IV.

who died on 8 September 1308 and was buried in the convent of Bellapaïs[22]. The terminus ante quem, 1315, is given by the date of death of his wife, the only daughter of Baudouin de Vitzada, Isabelle of Ibelin[23], whom he married in 1303, and whose obit would probably have been inserted had the manuscript been written after that date. The calendar of this manuscript was first mentioned by Le Quien[24], who also dated it to 1308-15, clearly in consideration of the obituary dates of the Ibelin couple. However, Le Quien's information was misinterpreted by Kohler[25], who took it to refer to Guy, bishop of Famagusta (1298-1308), influencing later scholarship in the process. Guy of Famagusta lost his bishopric in 1308, being deposed by Aimery of Lusignan († 1310) and replaced by Antonius Sauranus; he died in 1312[26]. Moreover, had the Guy of Ibelin mentioned in the obituary note been a bishop, the title would not have failed to appear; finally, had Guy of Famagusta been an Ibelin, the tradition would not have failed to report a bishop among the lineage of the family.

The church of Bellapaïs, which is earlier than the fourteenth-century monastic buildings, was begun, probably as early as 1192, by canons regular who were allowed in 1206 to adopt the Premonstratensian rule[27]. Hugo says that Hugh III (1267-84) brought Premonstratensians from Jerusalem and placed them in the monastery[28]. As Hill points out, he may have brought members of the order from Palestine, but the order was at Bellapaïs long before this time. The obituary entry for Guy of Ibelin, clearly a benefactor of the order, suggests that this breviary was owned by the canons of Bellapaïs, and that they practised the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, certainly in use since the arrival of canons from Jerusalem in the thirteenth century, but probably even before, since it is most likely that the first canons who established themselves at Bellapaïs in the late twelfth century were coming from within the patriarchate of Jerusalem.

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[22] Rudt de Collenberg p. 186.

[23] F. Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1886 (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Mélanges historiques, 5), p. 1-531, at 176, where Guy's wife is mistakenly called Marguerite, the name of their daughter, who married in 1319 another Guy of Ibelin († after 1350); see Rudt de Collenberg pl.V.

[24] M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 3 vols, Paris, 1740, III col. 1220.

[25] Kohler p. 384-5.

[26] Gams p. 439; Eubel I p. 254; Rudt de Collenberg p. 235-6.

[27] Hill II p. 26-7; Coureas p. 200-4; Slack p. 270-92.

[28] C. L. Hugo, *Sacri et Canonici Ordinis Praemonstratensis Annales*, 2 vols, Nancy, 1734-6, I col. 651; Hill II p. 26-7.

The rubric explicitly states (p. 109[b]): « Incipit breuiarium legendi et canendi secundum usum et consuetudinem sancti Sepulchri ». Other references are to the liturgical performance on the feast of the Annunciation as established by Arnulf (p. 596[a]): « Arnulphus patriarcha precepit per summam obedientiam cantare. Te deum... », and to the procession performed on All Souls day (p. 740[b])« : « Post capitulum vadit processio ad ecclesiam que dicitur Cheldemach canere responsoria deffunctorum »; both of these suggest that the manuscript was copied from an ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre, as these are the rubrics found in HS[5] and HS[9].

The calendar and the sanctoral contain all the feasts of Jerusalem, and, most importantly, the chant repertory is entirely that of the Holy Sepulchre. Only the litanies do not contain the saints of Jerusalem, neither are they followed by the petition for the patriarch, but we have seen how this feature disappeared with the move to Acre. St Francis and St Dominic appear in the calendar, while only Francis is in the sanctoral, although with a prayer only, not the full office. Francis again appears twice in the litanies, while Dominic does not. However, on p. 822-39 are added the offices for Sts Peter the Martyr, Dominic, Francis, and Katherine. This suggests that feasts for the mendicant saints were not originally present in the exemplar, datable to the second half of the thirteenth century, but were added at the time of the composition of this manuscript. The entry in the sanctoral (p. 615[a]) of Epiphanius ep et pont (11 May)[29], a saint buried in Cyprus, suggests a minimum of adaptation to the local environment.

Bernardo Sagredo, writing in 1562 to the Venetian Senate, tells of the shame surrounding the abbey of Bellapaïs, all in ruins, the services not maintained, all the brethren having wives[30]. It is therefore likely that, already before the Turkish conquest, the manuscript might have found more suitable users, probably Carmelites. Several additions to the calendar have been entered in a fourteenth/fifteenth-century Car-

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[29] Delehaye p. 235 and 242-3.

[30] B. Sagredo, *Report to the Venetian Senate*, in L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne de la Maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols, Paris, 1852-61, III p. 543-4; Hill III p. 1103. On the donation of Cyprus to Venice see B. Arbel, Au service de la Sérénissime : Donato d'Aprile et la donation du royaume de Chypre à Venise par le roi Jacques II, in *Dei gesta per Francos : études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar, and J. Riley-Smith, Aldershot, 2001, 425-34.

During the wars of 1426 the abbeys of the island were « ravaged and desolated »; in 1540 the general chapter of Prémontré had asked the Senate of Venice for a visitation and reform of the abbey; see C. K. Slack, The Premonstratensians and the Crusader Kingdoms in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, in *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 67, 1991, p. 207-31; 68, 1992, p. 76-110, at 108.

melite hand, which betrays an Italian origin in the spelling of names such as «Felisis», «Euzepii», «Ambrozii», and «Grasiani». By 1465 the manuscript was in the Carmelite convent of Bologna, where a certain number of other entries were added. The manuscript was still in Bologna in the seventeenth/eighteenth century, when a Carmelite hand of that period collated the text of the manuscript with the Carmelite Breviary of current use. However, the book must have been in France by 1740, when it is mentioned by Le Quien.

HS^{17}

Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1076 (1300-15)

Another manuscript that was written in Cyprus for a community, or an individual, associated with the Holy Sepulchre is the breviary HS^{17}. Despite the fact that the calendar is now lost and that the final part of the breviary is also missing, ending with the commemoration of Hermes and Julian (28 Aug.), it can still be seen that the sanctoral presents all the Jerusalem feasts. The rubrics for both temporal and sanctoral explicitly refer to the Holy Sepulchre. The litanies are rather ordinary and again there is no petition for the patriarch. In the sanctoral, the office for Epiphanius ep et cf (11 May) leads to the Cypriot origin.

I agree with the date provided by Kohler[31], that this is a manuscript of the first half of the fourteenth century copied from material dating from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Certainly the absence of the feast of Corpus Christi[32], established in 1264 by a pope who had been patriarch of Jerusalem, and of St Dominic, canonized in 1234, would confirm Kohler's date. Unfortunately we do not have the section of the proper of saints for the month of October where St Francis, canonized in 1228, would have been a good indication. However, Francis and Dominic would have appeared in the litanies if they had been present in the sanctoral. Palaeographically, moreover, HS^{17} appears to be very close to HS^{16}, in particular in the style of decoration and musical notation; the script, in a different hand, also Italian, is slightly earlier, probably from the very beginning of the fourteenth century. This manuscript should therefore be dated to 1300-15, retaining 1315, *terminus ante* quem of HS^{16}, also for this breviary.

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[31] KOHLER p. 490.

[32] The feast of Corpus Christi, celebrated on Thursday following the Sunday of the Holy Trinity, was instituted by Urban IV on 11 August 1264; P. M. GY, L'Office du Corpus Christi et S. Thomas d'Aquin, in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 64, 1980, p. 491-507; M. RUBIN, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 164-212.

HS^{18}

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, mss. Palatini 185-6 (1359-65)

HS^{18} is a breviary copied in Cyprus between 1359 and 1365. The breviary itself presents the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, with a minimum of adaptation to the feasts of Cyprus. Its calendar, however, not only does not include the saints of the Holy Sepulchre, but it clearly presents the proper of saints of Reggio Emilia[33].

In the sanctoral, on f. 90rb appears Epiphanius ep et cf (11 May), the saint buried in Cyprus; on f. 92vb Yvo cf, probably Yvo of Chartres[34] (20 May), with inhabited initial and gilt border, and with suffrages to him on f. 267ra; on f. 100rb Barnabas (11 June): the rubric specifies that according to the Church of Cyprus Barnabas has a vigil and an octave in recognition of the fact that according to tradition he was born and received martyrdom in Cyprus. On f. 209ra there is Hilarion of Gaza (21 Oct.), monk of the fourth century, who apparently spent the last five years of his life on the island, where there is a fortress named after him which was built by the crusaders. He often appears in the icons together with Barnabas, and they are both considered patron saints of the island[35]. On f. 220vb is Sozomenus and his brother Sotiormenus (21 Nov.)[36].

Barnabas, patron saint of the island, is present in the litanies among the apostles and disciples, where he does not always appear. Yvus, Epiphanius, and Sozomenus close the series of confessors, monks, and hermits. The petitions after the litanies do not include the prayer for the patriarch. The rubric for the office of the Cypriot saints Sozomenus and Sotiormenus (21 Nov.) contains revealing information for the dating of the manuscript and its provenance, as well as for the apparently unusual presence of a calendar from Reggio Emilia. The rubric reads:

«Ss cff Sozomeni et Sotiormenis, quod celebratur die xxi mensis nouenbri ad deuotionem domini et domini illustri prosapia geniti Petri dei gratia Ierusalem et Cypri regis».

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[33] P. GOLINELLI, *Culto dei santi e vita cittadina a Reggio Emilia (secoli IX-XII)*, Modena, 1980 (Biblioteca. Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi, n.s., 53), p. 29-34, a list of feasts found in two lectionaries from Reggio Emilia, of the twelfth and thirteenth century: Reggio Emilia, Archivio Capitolare di San Prospero di Castello, ms. B and ms. P.

[34] *BS* VII p. 994-7.

[35] DELEHAYE p. 241-2, 286; *BS* VII p. 731-5.

[36] DELEHAYE p. 252 listed as unknown; not in *BS*; he appears, as «Scilominus», in HS^{14}; «Zyzonimus» is mentioned among the saints venerated in Cyprus in the description of the island provided by LUDOLPHUS DE SUCHEN, *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae*, ed. F. DEYCKS, Stuttgart, 1851 (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, 25), p. 30.

Peter I (1329-69) was king of Jerusalem and Cyprus from 1359 to 1369[37]. His physician and adviser in Nicosia was Guido da Bagnolo (now Bagnolo in Piano, Reggio Emilia)[38]. This breviary was made for Guido da Bagnolo, who was not only a learned man, a physician, and a diplomat, but also a canon attached to the church of Sta Sophia of Nicosia. Guido was born in about 1320/5 from a noble and wealthy family. His father was Philippinus Ferrari de Scopolis de Bagnolo, a notary in Reggio Emilia[39]. Very likely Guido studied and began his profession in Bologna. However, both before and after joining the court of Cyprus he spent a long time in Venice, where he was listed in 1353 among the physicians of the confraternity of Santa Maria della Carità, and where in 1360 he obtained Venetian citizenship from the Doge Giovanni Dolfin (1356-61). He was a friend of Petrarch. In fact Guido's Aristotelianism, intended as study of natural philosophy[40], occasioned the author's writing of *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*[41]. Guido, who died in 1370, was buried in the Venetian church of the Frari. By 1360 he had already been appointed as Peter's physician, on behalf of whom he acted in important diplomatic missions. In particular, we should note his mission, in 1365, together with the patriarch of Constantinople, the Carmelite Petrus

[37] Hill II p. 308-69.

[38] For this and the following information related to the life and activities of Guido da Bagnolo see R. Livi, Guido da Bagnolo, medico del re di Cipro, in *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi*, ser. 5, 11, 1918, p. 45-91.

[39] G. Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese o Notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori natii degli stati del…duca di Modena*, 6 vols, Modena, 1781-6, I p. 134.

[40] According to Kristeller, « Averroist » and Aristotelian tendencies, partly derived from Paris, appeared at the Arts faculty of the University of Bologna before the end of the thirteenth century and carried on without interruption throughout the first half of the fourteenth century; see P. O. Kristeller, Petrarch's « Averroists »: A Note on the History of Aristotelianism in Venice, Padua, and Bologna, in *Mélanges Augustin Renaudet*, Geneva, 1952 (Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance, 14), p. 59-65, at 64-5.

[41] Petrarch's work originated from his discussions with Guido, Tomaso Talenti († 1403; *DBI* XXVIII p. 322), Leonardo Dandolo (1326-1406; *DBI* XXXII p. 482-5), and Zaccaria Contarini († 1388; *DBI* XXVIII p. 319-25). Their names, not mentioned in Petrarch's work itself, were found in a contemporary gloss to a fourteenth-century manuscript of the *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia* from the library of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (now Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. Marc. lat. VI, 86 [=2593]). Petrarch's text reads: « Ut primus litteras nullas sciat (nota tibi loquor omnia), secundus paucas, tertius non multas, quartus vero [Guido] non paucas, fateor, sed perplexas adeo tamque incompositas, et, ut ait Cicero, tanta levitate et iactatione, ut fortasse melius fuerat nullas nosse »; see *Pétrarque, Le traité "De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia"*, ed. L. M. Capelli, Paris, 1906 (Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance, 6), p. 24 and F. Petrarca, *De ignorantia. Della mia ignoranza e di quella di molti altri*, ed. E. Fenzi, Milan, 1999, p. 188.

Thomas or Thomasius (1364-66), to try to conclude a peace treaty between the king of Cyprus and Genoa[42]. It gained for him the gratitude of the pope, Urban V, who, with a bull dated 23 April 1365, authorized Guido to exchange his canonry within the cathedral of Nicosia with another in the church of Modone (today Methóni) in Greece. This manuscript must have been written between 1359, date of the beginning of the kingdom of Peter I, and 1365, date of the exchange of Guido's canonry in Nicosia with that in Modone, as it is more likely that his breviary was made during his tenure of the canonry at the church of Sta Sophia.

He left two wills, one, in Reggio Emilia in 1349, probably drawn just before his first trip to Cyprus, and a second, in the church of Sta Sophia of Nicosia in 1362. In the second will are included a bequest to the Franciscan convent of Nicosia and Famagusta, another to the Dominicans of Reggio Emilia, and the return of a book of the Commentaries of Averroes to the Convent of the Franciscans of Nicosia, from which he had borrowed it. There is also a bequest to the University of Bologna to be used for the poor students from Reggio Emilia, to whom he also left all his books of medicine and philosophy. He is in fact responsible for the foundation, in Bologna, of a College for poor law students from Reggio Emilia, the Collegium Reggianum, as can be seen from the will which attests « universi redditus dictarum possessionum (emendarum in districtu Bononiae) distribuantur pro anima mea inter pauperes scholares »[43]. The inventory of his books only includes scientific texts, therefore nothing can be gathered on the historical and literary books which certainly had to be part of the library of this eminent figure. How and when the breviary entered the Palatine Collection in Parma I am unable to say; certainly the book must have been brought back from Cyprus together with the rest of Guido's belongings, if it was not already in Venice with him, at the time of his death.

[42] Eubel I p. 214; *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières*, ed. with introduction and notes by J. Smet, Rome, 1954 (Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana, 2), p. 122-3 and 222-3; Hill II p. 312-16. The mission of mediating between Cyprus and Genoa had been previously unsuccessfully attempted by Venice, in 1364, with the appointment, as ambassadors, of Francesco Bembo and Zaccaria Contarini, the latter being the friend of Guido da Bagnolo; see above, note 41.

[43] C. Piana, *Nuove ricerche su le Università di Bologna e di Parma*, Quaracchi, Florence, 1966 (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, 2), p. 433-9; C. Piana, Lo studio del diritto in Romagna nella seconda metà del sec. XV e la dominazione veneta a Ravenna e Faenza, in *Ravenna in età veneziana*, ed. D. Bolognesi, Ravenna, 1986, p. 207-25, at 220-21; see also R. Bernabeo, Di un antico Collegio studentesco in Bologna: il Collegio Reggiano, in *Pagine di storia della medicina*, 11, no. 6, 1967, p. 56-61.

It is no accident though that the last witnesses to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre survive in the form of three breviaries, that is to say books for private devotion, and not missals or graduals used in community celebrations, almost as if in times when the connection with Jerusalem was all but a memory, it came down to individuals to preserve it from oblivion.

CHAPTER V

Liturgical analysis

This chapter contains the liturgical data extracted from the manuscripts that present the use of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as from manuscripts and printed material from other liturgical uses included for the purposes of comparative study.

The analysis focuses on specific offices of the liturgical year, as it is from these that we can draw on the large body of data collected by Gabriel Beyssac and other liturgists. The office of the Holy Sepulchre is canonical, and therefore presents nine lessons, each consisting of a reading followed by a responsory and a versicle. The list or series of responsories and versicles extracted from the nine lessons of an office constitutes the material of our analysis. Variants to the main series are noted in parentheses after the manuscript or printed source they refer to.

A general introduction to the calendar of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (A), is followed by the analysis of the following offices: for the temporal, (B) the series of responsories and versicles to be found at Matins of the four Sundays of Advent and *Quattuor Tempora* (the series given by *feria* IV, V, VI, and Saturday of the last week of Advent); (C) the series of responsories and versicles to be found at Matins of *Triduum sacrum* (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday); and (D) the series of Alleluia verses of the Sundays after the octave of Pentecost. For the sanctoral, (E) the series of responsories and versicles to be found at Matins for the office of All Saints (1 Nov.); and (F) the series of responsories and versicles to be found at Matins for the office of All Souls (2 Nov.). Also considered are (G) the series of responsories and versicles to be found at Matins for the office of the dedication of the church; and finally, (H) the *officium quotidianum de Beata Maria Virgine*.

A — Calendar

The calendars of a group of illuminated manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre, namely HS^{1}, HS^{3}, HS^{4}, HS^{5}, HS^{8}, HS^{12}, and HS^{13}, have already been discussed by Francis Wormald[1]. In my Appendix are transcribed the same calendars, with the inclusion of entries in later hands, and the calendars from HS^{9}, HS^{14}, HS^{15}, HS^{16}, and HS^{18}, to provide a full picture of the development of the calendar of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Acre, and Cyprus.

The calendar is composed of a list of saints generally attested in liturgical sources dating to after the twelfth century. They are found in the Gregorian Sacramentary, complemented by the Gelasian Sacramentary, with the addition of feasts universally adopted by the Latin Church in the tenth and eleventh centuries. A complete list of these saints is in Dom Huot's *Iter Helveticum* (V 43-7). In addition to this common Roman base, it is possible to identify five groups of entries: (1) a certain number of feasts universally attested, but not yet universally prescribed by the Roman calendar; (2) French saints; (3) Palestinian and Jerusalem saints; (4) Augustinian saints; (5) new feasts specifically related to crusader life in Jerusalem.

(1.) Within the first group are the following entries: Crucifixio Christi (25 Mar.); Resurrectio domini (27 Mar.); Ciriacus et Iulita (16 June); Paulinus (22 June) bishop of Nola; Translatio Benedicti ab (11 July); Transfiguratio domini (6 Aug.); Martinus pp (10 Nov.), included from HS^{3} onwards; Barbara (4 Dec.), from HS^{3} onwards; Nicholas (6 Dec.) bishop of Myra; Conceptio BMV (8 Dec.); and Damasus pp (11 Dec.), from HS^{3} onwards.

(2.) The French entries appearing in the calendar of the Holy Sepulchre are mostly well known saints whose veneration had extended by the twelfth century throughout French territory. In addition there are some regional or diocesan saints who point to the Norman-Angevin area, but taken together their entries do not reflect the calendar of any specific place or diocese. Within this second group we find: Hilarius bishop of Poitiers and Remigius bishop of Reims (13 Jan.); Maurus (15 Jan.), abbot of Glandfeuil; Julianus (27 Jan.), bishop of Le Mans; Amandus bishop of Maastricht and Vedastus bishop of Arras and Cambrai (6 Feb.), included from HS^{5} onwards; Albinus (1 Mar.), bishop of Angers; Medardus bishop of Noyon and Gildardus bishop of Rouen (8 June), from HS^{3} onwards;

[1] Buchthal p. 107-9: only the calendars' entries in the original hand are transcribed in full on 110-26.

Martinus (4 July, *translatio* and *ordinatio*), bishop of Tours; Christophorus and Cucufas martyrs (25 July); Germanus (31 July), bishop of Auxerre; Maurilius (13 Sept.), bishop of Angers; Germanus and Vedastus (1 Oct.); Leodegarius (2 Oct.), bishop of Autun; Fides (6 Oct.), martyr in Agen, whose relics were deposed in Conques, from HS^{3} onwards; Crispinus et Crispinianus (25 Oct.), Roman martyrs, whose relics are kept in Soissons, from HS^{3} onwards; Quintinus (31 Oct.), from HS^{3} onwards; Leonardus (6 Nov.), hermit and founder of the abbey of Noblac, from HS^{3} onwards; Vigilia Martini (10 Nov.) bishop of Tours; Britius (13 Nov.), bishop of Tours; Octava Martini (18 Nov.); Eligius (1 Dec.), bishop of Noyon; Lazarus (17 Dec.), brother of Martha and Mary « quem dominus suscitavit », according to legends bishop of Marseilles; and Columba (31 Dec.), martyr in Sens.

(3.) Once the Latin Church was established in Jerusalem, the following Palestinian and in particular Jerusalem feasts were introduced into its Western calendar: Timotheus (24 Jan.), bishop of Ephesus, from HS^{3} onwards; Ignatius (1 Feb.), bishop of Antioch, from HS^{3} onwards; Quadraginta mm (11 Mar.), from HS^{3} onwards; Athanasius (2 May), bishop of Alexandria; Matthias (30 Jan.), eighth bishop of Jerusalem; Alexander (18 Mar.), fourth bishop of Jerusalem; Quiriacus (4 May), bishop of Jerusalem in the fourth century; Zacchaeus (23 Aug.), bishop of Jerusalem in the second century; Cleophas (25 Sept.), disciple of Christ martyr in Emmaus; Abraham Ysaac et Jacob (6 Oct.); Marcus (22 Oct.), first bishop of Jerusalem; Narcissus (29 Oct.), third bishop of Jerusalem; Petrus (25 Nov.), bishop of Alexandria, from HS^{3} onwards; and Saba (5 Dec.) abbot in Jerusalem.

(4.) The fact that the earliest calendars already present clear Augustinian features suggests that they were copied from post-1114 exemplars that reflect the Augustinian reform of the Chapter of the Holy Sepulchre. The following feasts are listed: Augustinus (28 Feb., first *translatio*); Vigilia Augustini (27 Aug.); Reconditio Augustini (28 Aug.); Octava Augustini (4 Sept.); Translatio Augustini (11 Oct.; second *translatio*, a feast abolished by Pius X).

(5.) Finally, a new office was composed to celebrate the day of the liberation of Jerusalem (15 July).

How little relation the early calendars bear to the sources adopted in the composition of the office of the Holy Sepulchre becomes clear once these sources are identified by analysing the chant repertory.

B — (Temporal) Series of responsories and versicles for Matins of the four Sundays of Advent and Quattuor Tempora

The office for Advent is found in the *pars hiemalis* of breviaries, antiphonaries, and ordinals. We do not have data from the earliest printed Hospitaller breviaries, Hos^{22} and Hos^{23}, as they contain the *pars aestivalis* only.

In the table below, references in brackets are to the numerical organization of responsories and versicles set up by R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols, Rome, 1963-79 (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes, 7-12), V p. 32-3, whose series have been reorganized on computer by K. Ottosen, *L'Antiphonaire latin au moyen âge. Réorganisation des séries des répons de l'avent classés par R.-J. Hesbert*, Rome, 1986 (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Extra Seriem). The numerical and alphabetical list of responsories for Advent is found in Hesbert V p. 32-3, and in Ottosen, *Antiphonaire*, p. 11-14. The comparative analysis is conducted on the first two Sundays only, as they appear to be the most distinctive, while for the rest of the office similarities are found with a number of sources too large and varied to try to establish a connection. However, the data relating to the office of the Holy Sepulchre for the other Sundays and Ember days are given in full. The reference number assigned below to the manuscripts quoted for the comparative analysis of the liturgical use, for example B^{2} (132), corresponds to the manuscript identification number assigned by Hesbert and Ottosen. HS^{5} is the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain this office:

DOMINICA I

1. R. Aspiciens a longe	[011]	V. Quique terrigene V. Qui regis israel
2. R. Aspiciebam	[012]	V. Potestas eius
3. R. Missus est	[013]	V. Dabit ei
4. R. Ave Maria...Spiritus	[014]	V. Quomodo fiet
5. R. Salvatorem	[015]	V. Sobrie et iuste
6. R. Audite verbum	[016]	V. Adnuntiate
7. R. Ecce virgo	[017]	V. Super solium
8. R. Obsecro	[018]	V. A solis ortu
9. R. Laetentur coeli	[019]	V. Orietur in diebus
10. R. Alieni non transibunt	[062]	V. Ego veniam

This series, whose main characteristic is R. 62 in final position, can be identified with group g in Hesbert's analysis; group g contains

12 manuscripts: HS^{17} (190), SteW (222), Carm^{3} (226), OSA English (316), Hos^{9} (319), Hos^{21} (325), Carm^{1} (342), Carm^{2} (362), Hos^{1} (389), Carm^{4} (413), HS^{14} (422), and HS^{16} (508).

It includes three manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre (190, 422, 508), three from the Hospitallers (319, 325, 389), four from the Carmelites (226, 342, 362, 413), a manuscript from an English community of Canons Regular (316), and a manuscript from the Collegiate church of Sainte-Waudru, in Mons (diocese of Cambrai), which, however, presents local variants (see Leroquais, *Les Breviaires*, II 70 no. 249). Therefore they are all strictly related to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, with the sole exception of the manuscript from Sainte-Waudru. This also means that, as far as the first week of Advent is concerned, it is not possible to identify the source adopted by the Holy Sepulchre. The similarity to most Norman series should be noticed:

Ev$^{1\text{-}2\text{-}6}$ (238, 411, 486), Ro^{2} (490), and Se$^{1\text{-}2}$ (428, 492), all in Hesbert's group d which includes 22 manuscripts, present the following series:
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 *60*

Par^{1} (400) and Senl^{1} (424), in Hesbert's group c which includes 28 manuscripts, present the following series:
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 *61*

Sa$^{2\text{-}3\text{-}4}$ (288, 290, 351), in Hesbert's group b which includes 31 manuscripts, present the following series:
11 12 13 14 *34* 15 16 17 19 18 62

All Sarum sources present R. 62 in final position, but they have R. 34 in position 5, not a Holy Sepulchre feature.

Yo^{5} (305), in Hesbert's group k which includes 6 manuscripts, presents the following series:
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 *80*

B$^{1\text{-}2\text{-}3}$ (132-4, 375), Av (294), Sen (401), and Ch$^{1\text{-}2}$ (192, 476), in Hesbert's group a which includes 192 manuscripts, present the very common series:
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

The Teutonic order, Te$^{1\text{-}2\text{-}3\text{-}4\text{-}5}$, in Hesbert's group h which includes 8 manuscripts, presents the following series, also common to the Dominican exemplar Do (483):
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 *63* 19 62

DOMINICA II

	R.		V.
1.	R. Jerusalem cito	[021]	V. Israel si me
2.	R. Ecce dominus veniet et...et erit	[022]	V. Ecce cum virtute
3.	R. Civitas Jerusalem	[024]	V. Ecce in fortitudo
4.	R. Docebit nos	[070]	V. Venite ascen.
5.	R. Ecce veniet dominus protector	[025]	V. Ecce dominator
6.	R. Sicut mater	[026]	V. Dabo in Syon
7.	R. Jerusalem plantabis	[027]	V. Exulta satis
8.	R. Egredietur dominus de Samaria	[028]	V. Et preparabitur
9.	R. Rex noster	[029]	V. Ecce agnus

This series, whose main characteristic is R. 24 in position 3 and R. 70 in position 4, can be identified with group g in Hesbert's analysis; group g contains 10 manuscripts: three manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre (HS^{14}, HS^{16}, HS^{17}), two from the Hospitallers (Hos^{9}, Hos^{21}), three from the Carmelites (Carm$^{2\text{-}3\text{-}4}$), a manuscript from Évreux (Ev^{6}), and a manuscript from a parish church dependant from Saint-Denis (StD).

It should also be noted that two manuscripts from Évreux (Ev$^{1\text{-}2}$), group gg in Hesbert's analysis, have the following series:

21 22 24 70 25 26 27 28 29 *62 64*

As far as the second week of Advent is concerned, the Holy Sepulchre seems to have adopted the use of Évreux. Considering that within the series for Advent this second week is by far the most original and distinctive, and that according to the above evidence it was derived from Évreux, it is safe to deduce that the office for Advent of the Holy Sepulchre was taken from an Évreux manuscript.

The series for the rest of the office is as following:

DOMINICA III

	R.		V.
1.	R. Ecce apparebit	[031]	V. Apparebit in finem
2.	R. Bethleem civitas	[032]	V. Loquetur pacem
3.	R. Qui venturus est	[033]	V. Deponet omnes
4.	R. Suscipe verbum	[034]	V. Paries quidem
5.	R. Egipte noli flere	[035]	V. Ecce veniet
6.	R. Prope est ut veniat	[036]	V. Qui venturus est
7.	R. Descendet dominus	[037]	V. Et adorabunt eum
8.	R. Veni domine	[038]	V. Excita domine
9.	R. Ecce radix Iesse	[039]	V. Dabit ei dominus

DOMINICA IV

	R.		V.
1.	R. Canite tuba, in Sion, vocate	[041]	V. Annuntiate
2.	R. Octava decima (Vigesima quarta)	[042]	V. Ego sum dominus
3.	R. Non auferetur	[043]	V. Pulcriores sunt
4.	R. Me oportet	[044]	V. Hoc est testimonium
5.	R. Ecce iam veniet plenitudo	[045]	V. Propter nimiam
6.	R. Virgo Israel revertere	[046]	V. In caritate
7.	R. Juravi	[047]	V. Iuxta est salus
8.	R. Non discedimus	[048]	V. Domine deus virtutum
9.	R. Intuemini	[049]	V. Precursor pro nobis
10.	R. Radix Iesse	[059]	V. Super ipsum
11.	R. Nascetur	[091]	V. Multiplicabitur

QUATTUOR TEMPORA

	R.		V.
1.	R. Clama in fortitudine	[051]	V. Super montem
2.	R. Orietur stella	[052]	V. Et adorabunt eum
3.	R. Modo veniet	[053]	V. Orietur in diebus
4.	R. Egredietur dominus et praeliabitur	[054]	V. Et elevabitur
5.	R. Praecursor (Redemptor) pro nobis	[055]	V. Ipse est rex
6.	R. Videbunt gentes	[056]	V. Et eris corona
7.	R. Emitte agnum	[057]	V. Ostende nobis
8.	R. Germinaverunt	[058]	V. Ex Syon species
9.	R. Radix Jesse qui exsurget	[059]	V. Super ipsum
10.	R. Paratus esto	[094]	V. Ecce donator
11.	R. Rorate coeli	[090]	V. Emitte agnum
12.	R. Montes Israel	[060]	V. Rorate celi

The same series is found in HS^{14} (where it lacks the first two responsories of the 1st Sunday), HS^{16}, HS^{17}, and HS^{18}.

Among the Hospitaller sources, the same series appear in Hos^{6}, Hos^{9} (QT does not have R. 56 58 60, therefore its series is 51 52 53 54 55 57 59 94 90), Hos^{18} (only from R. 7 of Dominica IV. QT, position 7: V. *Rorate celi*), Hos^{21}, Hos^{24} (Dominica II, position 6: R. *Dabo in Syon*; QT, position 12: R. *Montes ramos vestros expandite*), and Hos^{26} (Dominica I does not have position 10; Dominica IV does not have position 9 and 10). The same series are also found in HSN (Dominica I missing; Dominica III, position 9: V. *Sacerdotalis emitte agnus*; Dominica IV, position 2: R. *Vigesima quarta*).

HS^{7} has many differences. The first and second Sundays present an isolated series, according to Hesbert:

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 60 19

21 22 24 25 26 27 28 29 92 82
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39
41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49
51 52 53 59 93 91 54 55 56 57 58 90

In relation to this main series, Hos^{1} presents slight variations: in the first Sunday, the R. in positions 6 [18] and 8 [16] are reversed; in the 2nd Sunday, there is no R. 23, and R. 70 is in position 8; in the 3rd Sunday, [34] is in position 7, moving 35, 36, and 37 back a place, and [91] is in position 10; in QT, positions 4 [56] and 6 [54] are reversed, and there are no extra responsories. The full series is therefore:

11 12 13 14 15 18 17 16 19 62
21 22 24 25 26 27 28 70 29
31 32 33 35 36 37 34 38 39 91
41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49
51 52 53 56 55 54 57 58 59

The Teutonic use, as given by the manuscripts Te$^{1-2-3-4-5}$, presents the following series:

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 63 19 62
21 22 24 25 26 27 28 70 29
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39
41 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 91
51 52 54 55 53 56 57 58 59

C — (Temporal) Series of responsories and versicles found at Matins of the Triduum Sacrum

The office for the *Triduum sacrum* is found in the *pars hiemalis* of breviaries, antiphonaries, and ordinals. It can occasionally be found in books of hours. We do not have data from Hos^{22} and Hos^{23} as they contain only the *pars aestivalis*. In brackets reference is given to the numerical organization of responsories set up by P.-M. Gy, Les répons de matines des trois nuits avant Paques et la géographie liturgique du moyen âge latin, in *Requirentes modos musicos. Mélanges offerts à Dom Jean Claire*, ed. D. Saulnier, Solesmes, 1995, p. 29-39. Gy has reorganized the material collected by R. Le Roux, Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Paques, in *Études Grégoriennes*, 18, 1979, p. 157-76.

HS^{5} is the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain this office:

FERIA V IN COENA DOMINI

1.	R. In monte oliveti	[001]	V. Verumptamen
2.	R. Tristis est	[002]	V. Vigilate et orate
3.	R. Ecce vidimus eum	[003]	V. Vere langores
4.	R. Amicus meus	[004]	V. Melius illi
5.	R. Eram quasi agnus	[007]	V. Homo pacis mee
6.	R. Una hora non	[008]	V. Dormite iam
7.	R. Seniores populi	[009]	V. Congregaverunt
8.	R. Revelabunt celi	[010]	V. In die perditionis
9.	R. O Iuda qui	[031]	V. Os tuum

The same series is found in HS^{14} (Position 7: V. *Cogitaverunt iniquitatem*), HS^{16}, HS^{17}, and HS^{18} (Position 5: V. *Omnes inimici*).

The office of the Holy Sepulchre for the *Triduum Sacrum* clearly derives from that of Chartres, where the only variant occurs in position 5. The Holy Sepulchre series has replaced R. *Iudas mercator* [005] of the Chartres series with R. *Eram quasi agnus* [007].

Ch^{9}: [001] [002] [003] [004] [*005*] [008] [009] [010] [031]

Among the Holy Sepulchre sources only HS^{7} retains the original Chartres series, which contain in position 5 R. *Iudas mercator*, and in position 9 V. *Corpore tantum*. HSN presents only the variant V. *Omnes inimici* in position 5.

Among the Hospitaller sources, Hos^{1} has some variants in the arrangement of the responsories, including the adoption of the Chartres original responsory in position 5 (Position 5: R. *Iudas mercator* [005] V. *Avaricie inebriatus*. Position 6: R. *Eram quasi agnus* [007] V. *Omnes inimici mei*. Position 8: R. *O Iuda qui dereliquisti* [031] V. *Os tuum*. Position 9: R. *Una hora* [008] V. *Dormite iam*).

However, the other Hospitaller sources present only minor variants in the versicles: Hos^{6} (Position 5: V. *Omnes inimici*), Hos^{9} (Position 7: V. *Cogitaverunt iniquitatem*), Hos^{12} (Position 2: V. *Ecce appropinquabit hora*. Position 5: V. *Omnes inimici*), Hos^{18} (Position 4: V. *Bonum ei*. Position 5: V. *Omnes amici* (*sic*). Position 7: V. *Cogitaverunt iniquitatem*), Hos^{14} Hos^{15} and Hos^{20} (Position 5: V. *Omnes inimici*. Position 7: V. *Cogitaverunt iniquitatem*), Hos^{21} Hos^{24} and Hos^{26} (Position 2: V. *Intretis in temptatione*. Position 5: V. *Omnes inimici*).

The other sources investigated clearly belong to a different tradition:

B^{6}: [001] [002] [*004*] [*005*] [*006 = Unus ex discipulis*] [*010*] [*008*] [*009*] [*031*]
Ev^{1}: [001] [002] [*004*] [*003*] [*005*] [*006*] [009] [*031*] [*008*]
Par^{2}: [001] [002] [*004*] [*006*] [007] [008] [009] [010] [031]

FERIA VI IN MORTE DOMINI

1.	R. Omnes amicis	[011]	V. Et dederunt
2.	R. Vinea mea	[013]	V. Ego quidem
3.	R. Tanquam ad latronem	[014]	V. Filius quidem
4.	R. Barabas latro	[017]	V. Ecce turba
5.	R. Tradiderunt me	[018]	V. Astiterunt reges
6.	R. Ihesum tradidit	[019]	V. Et ingressus Petr.
7.	R. Caligaverunt	[020]	V. O vos omnes
8.	R. Velum templi	[012]	V. Amen dico tibi
9.	R. Tenebre facte sunt	[015]	V. Cum ergo accep.

The same series is found in HS^{14}, HS^{16}, HS^{17}, HS^{18}, and HSN. Again HS^{7} and Ch^{9} (DELAPORTE, p. 219) present a minor variant (Position 3 : V. *Cumque iniecissent manus in Ihesum*).

Among the Hospitaller sources, the same series is found in Hos^{9}, Hos^{14}, Hos^{15}, Hos^{20}, Hos^{21}, Hos^{24}, and Hos^{26}. The same versicle variant as Chartres occurs in Hos^{1} and Hos^{12} (Position 3 : V. *Cumque misisent* [Hos^{1}] / *iniecissent* [Hos^{12}] *manus in Ihesum*). Another minor variant is found in Hos^{6} and Hos^{18} (Position 9 : V. *Et velum templi scissus est*), the former manuscript written in Wrocław (Breslau), the latter used in Frankfurt am Main.

Among the other sources, Par^{2} is as the Holy Sepulchre sources; in B^{6} positions 3 and 4, and 7 and 8, are reversed : [011] [013] *[017]* *[014]* [018] [019] *[012]* *[020]* [015] ; Ev^{1} has : [011] *[012]* *[013]* *[014]* *[017]* *[015]* *[018]* *[019]* *[020]*.

SABBATO SANCTO

1.	R. Sepulto domino	[021]	V. Ne forte veniant
2.	R. Iherusalem luge	[022]	V. Deduc quasi
3.	R. Plange quasi virgo	[023]	V. Ululate pastores (et clamate aspergite)
4.	R. Recessit pastor	[024]	V. Ante cuius
5.	R. O vos omnes	[025]	V. Attendite
6.	R. Ecce quomodo	[026]	V. In pace factus
7.	R. Estimatus sum	[027]	V. Posuerunt me
8.	R. Agnus dei Christus	[028]	V. Christus factus
9.	R. Sicut ovis	[029]	V. In pace factus est

The same series is found in HS^{14}, HS^{16}, HS^{17}, and HS^{18}. Two variants are HS^{7} and Ch^{9} (Position 4 : V. *Destruxit quidem claustra*) and HSN (Position 4 : V. *Deduxit*, probably a misprint).

Among the Hospitaller sources, Hos^{6}, Hos^{9}, Hos^{14}, Hos^{15}, Hos^{20}, Hos^{21}, Hos^{24}, and Hos^{26} (no versicles) are identical. In Hos^{1} positions 8 and 9 are reversed (Position 8 : R. *Sicut ovis* [029] V. *Ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates*. Position 9 : R. *Agnus dei Christus* [028] V. *Christus factus*). Hos^{12} presents three variants (Position 3 : also R. *Ullulate pastores in cinere et cilicio*. Position 4 : also V. *Videntes autem eum parate*. Position 6 : R. *Viri iusti tolluntur*) ; and Hos^{18} presents two minor versicle variants (Position 4 : V. *Tocius conspectum mors fugit*. Position 7 : V. *Et sicut inlucati dormientes* ; found in Évreux).

Among the other sources, Par^{2} is as Holy Sepulchre, and Ev^{1} has only a variant in the versicle in position 7 : V. *Et sicut inlucati dormientes*.

In B^{6} (p. 134) position 8 and 9 are reversed : [021] [022] [023] [024] [025] [026] [027] *[029]* *[028]*

The Teutonic use, as given by Te$^{4-7}$, is as follows :

[Feria V] 1. In monte Oliveti [001] ; 2. Tristis est [002] ; 3. Ecce vidimus [003] ; 4. Amicus meus [004] ; 5. Unus ex vobis [006] ; 6. Eram quasi agnus [007] ; 7. Una hora [008] ; 8. Seniores populi [009] ; 9. Revelabunt [010].

[Feria VI] 1. Omnes amici [011] ; 2. Velum templi [012] ; 3. Vinea mea [013] ; 4. Tamquam ad latronem [014] ; 5. Tenebrae factae sunt [015] ; 6. Barrabas latro [017] ; 7. Tradiderunt [018] ; 8. Iesum/Me tradidit [019] ; 9. Sicut ovis ad occisio [029].

[Sabbato] 1. Sepulto domino [021] ; 2. Ierusalem luge [022] ; 3. Plange quasi virgo [023] ; 4. Recessit pastor [024] ; 5. O vos omnes [025] ; 6. Caligaverunt oculi [020] ; 7. Ecce quomodo moritur [026] ; 8. Aestimatus sum [027] ; 9. Agnus dei [028].

D — (TEMPORAL) SERIES OF ALLELUIA VERSES FOUND AT SUNDAYS AFTER THE OCTAVE OF PENTECOST

The post-Pentecost Alleluia verses are found in sacramentaries, missals, graduals, and ordinals. Their texts are taken from the psalms. The Alleluia verses are not present in HS^{3} or HS^{13}. References in brackets below are to the psalm number ; a list of Alleluia verses, organized by numerical order of psalms as well as alphabetically, is published in D. HILEY, *Post-Pentecost*, p. 171-4. HS^{1} is the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain the series :

1.	Verba mea	[005]
2.	Domine deus meus	[07.2]
3.	Deus iudex	[7.12]
4.	Diligam te	[017]

5.	Domine in virtute	[020]
6.	In te domine	[030]
7.	Eripe me de	[058]
8.	Te decet	[064]
9.	Attendite	[077]
10.	Exultate deo	[080]
11.	Domine deus salutis	[087]
12.	Domine refugium	[089]
13.	Venite exultemus	[94.1]
14.	Quoniam deus	[94.3]
15.	Confitemini domino et	[104]
16.	Paratum	[107]
17.	Qui timent dominum	[113B11]
18.	Qui confidunt	[124]
19.	De profundis	[129]
20.	Lauda anima mea	[145]
21.	Qui sanat	[146.3]
22.	Qui posuit	[147.14]
23.	Laudate dominum omnes angeli	[148]

Heinrich Husmann[2] observed that the series of Senlis, as given by Senl^{2}, was also the series of the Carmelites and of the Hospitallers. In such a case, the series from Senlis should also be considered the origin of the use of the Holy Sepulchre, from which the two orders derived their use. There are however substantial differences, such as the presence of V. *Dominus regit me* [22] in position 6, of V. *Omnes gentes* [46] in position 7, of V. *Dextera domini* [117] in position 19, of V. *Confitebor tibi* [137.1] in position 22, and of V. *Verbo domini celi firmati* [32] in position 24; neither of these appear in the Holy Sepulchre series.

Senl^{2}: *5 7.2 7.12 17 20 22 46* 58 64 30 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 107
116 *117* 145 129 *137.1* 147.14 *32*

In fact, the use of the Holy Sepulchre, as given by the series from
HS^{1}, is almost identical to the use of Ev^{4}:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11
117 124 129 145 146.3 147.14 *7.2*

The only difference is found in the presence of Alleluia V. *Dextera dei* [117] in the Évreux series and of Alleluia V. *Domine deus meus*

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[2] H. Husmann, Die Oster- und Pfingstalleluia der Kopenhagener Liturgie und ihre historischen Beziehungen, in *Dansk Aarbog for Musikforskning*, 4, 1964-5, p. 3-62, at 17.

[07.2] at the end of the series, substituted with Alleluia V. *Laudate dominum omnes angeli* [148] in the Holy Sepulchre series.

Another Missal from Évreux, from the fourteenth century, presents the Alleluia V. *In te domine speravi* [030] in position 9 instead of in position 6, the Alleluia V. [117] in position 18, but no Alleluia V. [07.2] at the end, confirming the substantial identity between the series from Évreux and the Holy Sepulchre:

Ev^{5}: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 47 58 64 *30* 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107
113B11 *117* 124 129 146.3 147.14

The Évreux series is derived from that of Rouen, its archdiocese. They differ in so far as Rouen does not present V. *Domine deus meus* [7.2], found instead in the Évreux and Holy Sepulchre series in position 2. Moreover Évreux, like the Holy Sepulchre, does not present V. *Omnes gentes* [46] between V. 30 and V. 58.

Ro^{10}: [5 ?] 7.12 17 20 30 *46* 58 64.2 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104
107 113 *117* 124 129 145 146.3 147.14 147.14

It is therefore clear that the use of the Holy Sepulchre, as given by its earliest exemplar, HS^{1}, was taken directly from Évreux.

The use of the Holy Sepulchre, however, was soon slightly modified, with the introduction of V. *Magnus dominus* [47] in position 7 between V. 30 and V. 58, and of V. *Laudate dominum omnes gentes* [116.1] in position 20 between V. 113 and V. 124, as given by HS^{5} and by the Hospitaller tradition. HS^{5} also presents the introduction of V. *Domine exaudi* [101.2] in position 16 between V. 94.3 and V. 104, a characteristic that was not continued by the immediately later Holy Sepulchre and Hospitaller tradition, but that was recovered in the 1551 edition of the Hospitaller Missal (Hos^{28}), for which it was used an exemplar from Rhodes which predates the Hospitallers' loss of the island in 1523. That this is the case is proved by the text of the Missal itself, where in the proper of saints, on f. K_4^v, is recorded a reference to their church in Rhodes: « (25 Apr.) Ipso die sancti Marci est letania maior et licet non fiat processio in ecclesia sancti Ioannis Collaci Rhodi, fratres tamen ieiunant, et dicitur missa de ieiuniio ».

HS^{5}: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 *101.2*
104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124 129 146.3 147.14 145 – the last three Alleluia verses are alternating verses of the 23rd Sunday after the octave of Pentecost.

HSN also presents a series very close to HS^{5}:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 *101.2 107*
107 113B11 124 129 146.3 *147.12 146.3* 147.14 145 – the last four

Alleluia verses are alternating verses of the 23rd Sunday.

Therefore at the time of composition of HS^{5}, three variants were introduced which are unrelated to the Évreux tradition: V. 47, V. 101.2, and V. 116.1. The insertion on V. 101.2 in a series very close to that of the Holy Sepulchre is found in texts of the Norman and Sicilian family, for which see D. HILEY, The Norman Chant Traditions – Normandy, Britain, Sicily, in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 107, 1980-1, p. 1-33, at 19-20:

Pal^{3}: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *46* 47 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 101.2 104 107 113B11 *117* 124 129 *137* 145 146.3 147.14

Pal^{2}: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *46* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 101.2 104 107 113B11 124 129 145 146.3 147.14

Co: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *46* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 101.2 104 107 113B11 124 129 145 146.3 147.14

Me$^{1\text{-}2\text{-}3\text{-}4}$: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *46* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 101.2 104 107 113B11 124 129 145 146.3 147.14 147.14

V. 47 and V. 116.1 are found in series from Norman Sicily which, as Hiley points out[3], show a clear Chartres influence in their selection of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses:

Pal^{1}: 7.2/5 7.12 17 20 *22 46* 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 107 113B11 116.1 124 129 *137.1* 146.3

Ch$^{8\text{-}9}$ (DELAPORTE p. 217): 7.2 7.12 17 20 *22 46* 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 107 113B11 116.1 124 129 *137.1* 146.3

V. 47 and V. 116.1 are also found in the Norman « Bec » family tradition[4], where the connecting factor is the post-Conquest settlement in the English Church imposed by Lanfranc of Bec. In Normandy this tradition is also found at the monastery of Saint-Ouen, Rouen:

Ro^{9}: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 116.1 *117* 124 129 146.3 147.14

Cant: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 116.1 *117* 124 129 146.3

StA: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 116.1 *117* 124 129 145 146.3 147.14

Du: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 *110* 113B11 116.1 124 129 145 146.3 147.12 147.14 *148*

[3] HILEY, *Post-Pentecost*, p. 154-6 and *id.*, Quanto c'è di normanno nei tropari siculo-normanni?, *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 18, 1983, p. 3-28, at 22-4.

[4] HILEY, *Post-Pentecost*, p. 153-4 and *id.*, *The Norman Chant Traditions*, p. 20.

In particular, V. 47, V. 101.2, and V. 116 are all present in the York series:

Yo$^{4\text{-}5}$: 5 7.12 *8* 17 20 30 *46 47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 *101.2* 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 117 129 145 146.3 147.14

V. 47 and V. 101.2 are not found in Gu, the ordinal composed for the Augustinian priory of Guisborough, in the diocese of York, in the second half of the thirteenth century, not much before 1283[5]:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 *46* 58 64 *30* 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 117 129 146.3 147.14

It should be noted, for the sake of comparison, that none of Bayeux, Hereford, Paris, or St Victor, whose office for All Saints is identical to that of the Holy Sepulchre, can shed any light on the Holy Sepulchre series:

B$^{4\text{-}5\text{-}6}$: 7 17 20 30 *46* 58 64 77 80 87 89 *92* 94.1 94.3 *96 99* 104 107 *110* 113B11 129 146 147.14

Her^{2}: 5 7 17 20 30 *46* 58 64 77 80 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1 113B11 117* 124 129 145 146 146

Par^{3} and StV: 7.12 17 20 30 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 *96* 104 107 *110* 113B11 116.1 117 129 145 146 147.14 147.14 147.14

The other manuscripts from thirteenth-century Acre, with the exception of HS^{6}, present the series of the Holy Sepulchre as given by HS^{5}, with some variants that may reflect the greater quantity and variety of books circulating in Acre.

HS^{6}, on the other hand, presents a very unusual series, which suggests that this manuscript came or was copied from liturgical material brought to Acre from Europe, probably Rouen. The series was subsequently adapted to the use of the Holy Sepulchre, but the difference between the adapted version and the series of the Holy Sepulchre is still substantial:

HS^{6} original version: 5 7.12 17 *9 46* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 116.1 *116.2 116.1* 124 145 146.3 147.14

HS^{6} adapted version: 5 7.2 7.12 9 20 30 *46 47* 58 64 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 *95 101.2 101.16* 104 107 113.1 113B11 147.14

The series from HS^{8}, the missal produced for the cathedral church of the Holy Cross in Acre[6], is practically identical to HS^{5}, the

[5] The priory had been founded either in 1119/20 or in 1124 by Robert Brus, lord of Skelton († 1142), who had arrived to England with the Conqueror; see F. WORMALD, A liturgical calendar of Guisborough Priory, with some obits, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 31, 1934, p. 5-35.

only exception being the absence of V. 101.2 in position 16, between V. 94.3 and V. 104. HS^{8} was clearly copied from an exemplar coming from the church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124 129 145 146.3 147.14

HS^{15} presents minor variation in the arrangement of the Alleluia verses, and the introduction of V. 46 in position 5, a verse not otherwise represented within the Holy Sepulchre tradition. Yet the overall appearance of the series is that of the Holy Sepulchre as given by HS^{5}:

7.12 17 20 30 *46* 58 *47* 64 *5* 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124 129 146.3 147.14 147.12

The Hospitaller sources show an overall conformity to the series of the Holy Sepulchre as given by HS^{5}, with the sole omission of V. 101.2:

Hos^{7}: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124 129 146 147.12

Hos^{5}: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124 129 145 147.14 147.12

Hos^{10}: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *148* 124 129 *146.3* 147.12 147.14

Hos^{16}: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124 129 145 *147.12* 147.12

Hos^{27}: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124 129 *145 147.12 147.12 147.14*

The Alleluia verse 101.2, as mentioned above, is reintroduced in the 1551 and 1553 printed editions of the Hospitaller Missal, for which a manuscript from Rhodes that ultimately descended from HS^{5} was used as exemplar.

Hos$^{28-29}$: 5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 *101.2* 104 107 *116.1* 116.1 124 129 146.3 *146.3 147.14*

The Teutonic series, as given by Te^{9}, f. p_1^r, is:

7.2 7.12 17 20 30 58 64 77 *78* 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 *101.16* 104 107 113B11 *117* 124 129 146.3 147.14 *147.12 116.1*

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[6] Beyssac gives a different list, exactly corresponding to the series of Sainte-Trinité of Vendôme: 7 17 20 30 46 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 [117] (=104) 107 110 113Q 124 129 [104] 145 146Q 147L 117D 117D 117D; however, this series does not correspond to the text of the manuscript which I viewed on microfilm.

E — (Sanctoral) Series of responsories and versicles found at Matins of the office of All Saints day (1 Nov.)

The office for All Saints is found in the *pars aestivalis* of breviaries, antiphonaries, and ordinals. This office is missing from HS^{17}, and, among the Hospitaller sources, from Hos^{11} and Hos^{18}; nor does it appear in Hos^{17} and Hos^{20}, because these two manuscripts contain the *pars hiemalis* only. For the analysis of the office of All Saints day I have made use of the numerical system compiled by P.-M. Gy, still unpublished. The text of the responsories will be therefore given in full. HS^{5} is the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain this office:

Invitatorium: Regem regum dominum venite adoremus.

1.	R. Benedicat nos	[059]	V. Deus misereatur nostri
2.	R. Felix namque	[011]	V. Ora pro populo
3.	R. Te sanctum	[044]	V. Cherubin
4.	R. Inter natos	[013]	V. Fuit homo missus
5.	R. Qui sunt isti	[061]	V. Candidiores nive
6.	R. O constantia	[064]	V. Nobis ergo petimus
7.	R. Sint lumbi	[015]	V. Vigilate ergo
8.	R. Audivi vocem	[002]	V. Media nocte clamor
9.	R. Concede nobis	[033]	V. Adiuvent nos eorum merita
			V. Exaltabunt sancti

The same series is found in HS^{6} (Versicles 1-4, 9 only), HS^{9}, HS^{14} (Versicles 1, 6, 9 only), HS^{18} (Position 9: V. *Exaltabunt sancti*), and HS^{7} (Position 7: V. *Candidiores*). HS^{7} also has in position 8 R. *O quam gloriosum est celestium* [022] V. *Illic per illorum interven.*, found in position 9 in the Chartres series. HSN has no versicles in position 4-6 and in position 9 the second V. *Exultabunt*.

The Hospitaller sources follow the use of the Holy Sepulchre with no or very little variation: Hos^{1}, Hos^{6} (No versicles in position 4, 5, and 8), Hos^{9} (No versicles. Position 9: R. *Exultabunt sancti*, corrected to *Concede nobis* by another hand), Hos^{14} (Position 9: V. *Exultabunt sancti*), Hos^{15} (No versicle in position 1), Hos^{21}, Hos^{22} and Hos^{23} (Versicles 1, 6, 9 only. Position 9: V. *Exaltabunt sancti*), Hos^{24}, and Hos^{26}.

According to the lists of responsories for All Saints day prepared by Beyssac and Gy the Holy Sepulchre series is identical to those of Se$^{1-3}$ and Yo^{1-2-5}, the only minor variant being in position 2, where in the series from Sées and York is found V. *Ora pro clero*. According to sources collected by Jeremy Noble (unpublished), it is also found in

Me³, Le, Yo³, and Gu. These southern Italian witnesses are clearly imported from Normandy.

The Holy Sepulchre series differs from a number of other uses only in one responsory. From Ev³ in the second responsory (R. *Sancta Maria clemens* V. *Ut tuo nos interventu*); from Her¹ in the first responsory (R. *Summae trinitati* [043]; V. *Prestet nobis*); from Par¹ in the fifth responsory (R. *Cives apostolorum* [020]). It differs from Ro¹⁻³⁻⁴⁻⁵⁻¹⁰ in the first responsory (R. *Summae trinitati* [043]) and the fourth (R. *In circuitu tuo* [087]); finally it differs from Sa⁴ in the first responsory (R. *Summae trinitati* [043]) and the fifth (R. *Cives apostolorum* [020]):

Holy Sepulchre:	059	011	044	013	061	064	015	002	033
Sées:	059	011	044	013	061	064	015	002	033
York:	059	011	044	013	061	064	015	002	033
Évreux:	059	[?]	044	013	061	064	015	002	033
Hereford:	*043*	011	044	013	061	064	015	002	033
Paris:	059	011	044	013	*020*	064	015	002	033
Rouen:	*043*	011	044	*087*	061	064	015	002	033
Sarum:	*043*	011	044	013	*020*	064	015	002	033

Certainly any influence from Bayeux and Chartres can be excluded; see B⁶ (p. 256-7) and Li, with the same series as Bayeux:
057 011 044 *021* 013 061 064 015 002

Ch⁹ (Delaporte p. 185):

1. R. Benedictus dominus deus Israel [059?]
2. R. Felix namque [011]
3. R. Te sanctum [044]
4. R. Inter natos [013]
5. R. Qui sunt isti [061]
6. R. Isti sunt qui pro testamento [*036*]
7. R. Sint lumbi [015]
8. R. Simile est regnum [*058*]
9. R. O quam gloriosum [*022*]

Within the Chartres series, a variant is found in position 2 and 6 in Ch³⁻⁴⁻⁵⁻⁶⁻⁷⁻¹⁰:

1. R. Benedictus dominus deus Israel [059?]
2. R. Stirps Iesse [*???*]
3. R. Te sanctum [044]
4. R. Inter natos [013]
5. R. Qui sunt isti [061]
6. R. Isti sunt sancti qui vicerunt/sequuntur [*???*]
7. R. Sint lumbi [015]

8. R. Simile est regnum [*058*]
9. R. O quam gloriosum [*022*]

Ch⁶ has in position 6 the R. Isti sunt sancti qui sequuntur.
Te⁶, f. CC6ʳ, presents the following series:

Invitatorium: Regem regum dominum venite adoremus.

1.	R. Summa trinitatis	[*043*]	V. Prestet nobis
2.	R. Felix namque	[011]	V. Ora pro populo
3.	R. Te sanctum	[044]	V. Cherubin quoque
4.	R. Inter natos	[013]	V. Fuit homo
5.	R. Cives apostolorum	[*020*]	V. Audite preces
6.	R. Isti sunt sancti	[*006*]	V. Tradiderunt
7.	R. Sint lumbi	[015]	V. Vigilate
8.	R. Audivi vocem	[002]	V. Media nocte
9.	R. Laudem dicite Deo	[*067*]	V. Genus electum
			V. Orate pro nobis?

F — (Sanctoral) Series of responsories and versicles found in the Office of the Dead (2 Nov.)

The office for All Souls (office of the dead) is found in the *pars aestivalis* of breviaries, antiphonaries, ordinals, psalters, and books of hours. This office is lost in HS¹⁷, which ends imperfectly. References in brackets are to the numerical organization of responsories and versicles found in Ottosen p. 389-420.

The office of the Holy Sepulchre presents two series which differ from one another in one responsory only: the first series is represented by HS⁴ (*c*.1135), the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain this office. The second series is found in HS⁵. The series from HS⁴ is the following:

1. R. Credo quod redemptor	[014]	V. Quem visurus sum	[177]
2. R. Qui Lazarum	[072]	V. Qui venturus es	[188]
3. R. Domine, quando veneris	[024]	V. Commissa mea	[034]
4. R. Heu mihi	[032]	V. Anima mea turbata	[012]
5. R. Ne recorderis	[057]	V. Dirige domine	[059]
6. R. Domine, secundum actum	[028]	V. Amplius lava me	[008]
7. R. Peccantem me	[068]	V. Deus in nomine	[053]
8. R. Libera me, domine, de viis	[040]	V. Clamantes et	[031]
9. R. Libera me, domine, de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa dies ire	[055]
		V. Tremens factus	[227]
		V. Plangent sese super	[178]
		V. Creator omnium	[038]

This series is also found in HS[16] (Position 9 : V [055] V. *Requiem eternam* [198]) and HS[18] (Position 9 : only V. [055]).

Among the Hospitaller sources, the same series is found in Hos[1], Hos[6], Hos[9], Hos[11], Hos[12] (Position 9: only V [055]), Hos[22] and Hos[23], Hos[4] and Hos[14] (Position 9 : V. [055] V. *Audivi vocem* [002]), Hos[17], Hos[19] (Position 9: V. [055] V. [227] V. *Vix Iustus* [243] V. *Vox de celis* [245]), Hos[3] Hos[24] and Hos[26] (Position 9 : V. *Dies illa* [055] V. *Requiem eternam* [198]).

HS[4], from the Holy Sepulchre, is the oldest source among this group. According to Ottosen, of the other 19 exemplars presenting this series, 5 are from Hospitaller sources[7] and therefore a derivation from the Holy Sepulchre (Hos[1], « HS[16] », Hos[9], Hos[23], Hos[26]), 4 Brigittine (Uppsala, UB, ms. C 489 ; Oxford, Bodl. Lib., ms. Buchanan F. 2 ; Paris, B. de l'Arsenal, ms. 424 ; Paris, BnF, Rés B. 1875), 2 from Bayeux (Paris, B. Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 2712 ; Paris, B. Mazarine, ms. 486), 2 from Blaubeuren (Stuttgart, WLB, cod. brev. 118 ; Stuttgart, WLB, HB I 222), 2 from Zwiefalten (Stuttgart, WLB, cod. brev. 117 ; Stuttgart, WLB, cod. brev. 116), one from Remiremont (Paris, BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1508), and one from a book of hours for private use *c.*1320 (London, BL, ms. Add. 36684).

The adoption of the Hospitaller office of the dead by the Brigittine sources has been attributed, by Tore Nyberg and Ottosen, to Peter Magister, the compiler of the Brigittine Breviary[8]. The other local sources in this group, a part from Bayeux which will receive further consideration, basically present local calendars but Hospitaller offices of the dead. Given the late date of production, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, they shed no light to the origin of the office of the dead of the Holy Sepulchre, and will therefore not be investigated here any further.

HS[5] presents a variant series, consisting in the adoption, in position 8, of R. *Requiem eternam* [082] V. *Qui Lazarum* [185], instead of R. [040] and V. [031] :

1.	R. Credo quod redemptor	[014]	V. Quem uisurus	[177]
2.	R. Qui Lazarum	[072]	V. Qui uenturus est	[188]
3.	R. Domine quando	[024]	V. Commissa mea	[034]
4.	R. Heu mihi	[032]	V. Anima mea	[012]
5.	R. Ne recorderis	[057]	V. Dirige domine	[059]
6.	R. Domine secundum actum	[028]	V. Amplius	[008]
7.	R. Peccantem me	[068]	V. Deus in nomine	[053]
8.	R. Requiem eternam	*[082]*	V. Qui Lazarum	*[185]*
9.	R. Libera me...de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa	[055]
			V. Tremens	[227]

[7] Ottosen lists two further manuscripts that are not considered here for different reasons : 1) the book of hours Marseilles, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 111, actually presents the use of Thérouanne in the office of the dead and that of Rome in the short office of the Virgin. 2) Utrecht 52, which I was unable to locate.

[8] Ottosen p. 238.

This series is also found in HS[14], Hos[13], Hos[2] (Position 2 : no versicle. Position 9 : V. [055] only), Hos[8] (Position 9 : V. [055] V. *Quid ergo miserimus* [180] V. *Nunc Christe petimus* [403] V. *Creator omnium* [038] V. *Requiescant in pace* [265]), and Hos[21].

The variant series ending 68 82 38 has 132 occurrences in Ottosen. Its major representatives are found within the uses of Sarum (23), Metz (12), Rouen (12), the Carmelite Order (10), Coutances (9), Lisieux (8), Rennes (8), Sées (4), Hereford (2), Bayeux (3), and Lincoln (1). To the rather late exemplars that are listed in Ottosen we can add HS[5], from the second half of the twelfth century. Apart from the Carmelites, who adopted this office from the Holy Sepulchre, and Metz, whose relationship to the Rouen series has to be investigated, this series revolves around the archdiocese of Rouen.

Both variants found in the manuscripts which present the use of the Holy Sepulchre, one with R. [040] in position 8 seen in HS[4], the other with R. [082] found in HS[5], are found together as alternating responsories in the early Bayeux series, represented by a thirteenth-century breviary (B[1]), a thirteenth-century ordinal (B[6]), and a fifteenth-century ordinal (B[7]) :

14 72 24	32 57 *12*	68 40 38
	28	82

R. 12 *Congregati sunt* is, according to Ottosen, very likely to be a thirteenth-century insertion, at the time when the ordinal of Bayeux was composed, as a tribute to the French Crown after the incorporation of Normandy into France in 1204 by Philip II (1180-1223). It is therefore most likely that the office of the dead within the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre adopted the use of Bayeux in its earlier version, where the two variants are found. Presumably, like the other Norman towns Coutances, Lisieux, Sées, and Rennes, Bayeux also ultimately adopted the office of the dead of its archbishopric, Rouen. But only Bayeux presents the alternating responsories 40/82 in position 8. Some series from Rouen also present R. 40, but in position 9 (Ro[6]) or

in position 6 (Ro[7-8]). It is therefore safe to say that the office of the dead of the Holy Sepulchre adopted the « Norman » series as filtered by the Bayeux tradition.

HS[7] has a completely different series, a derivation from Chartres[9]:

	R.		V.	
1.	R. Credo quod redemptor	[014]	V. Quem visurus	[177]
2.	R. Qui Lazarum	[072]	V. Qui suscitasti puellam	[187]
3.	R. Heu mihi	[032]	V. Anima mea turbata est	[012]
4.	R. Domine, quando veneris	[024]	V. Commissa mea	[034]
5.	R. Ne recorderis	[057]	V. Dirige domine	[059]
6.	R. Peccante me	[068]	V. Deus in nomine tuo	[053]
7.	R. Domine, secundum actum	*[028]*	V. Amplius	[008]
8.	R. Libera me, domine, de viis	[040]	V. Clamantes et dicentes	[031]
9.	R. Libera me, domine, de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa	[055]
			V. Tremens	[227]
			V.Vix iustus salvabitur	[243]
			V. Creator omnium rerum	[038]

Ch[9] series is: [014] [072] [032] [024] [057] [068] [076] [040] [038]. In HS[7] R. [028] in position 7 has replaced R. *Quomodo confitebor* [076] of the original Chartres series; see OTTOSEN p. 302. According to Ottosen, the office of the dead of Chartres was probably compiled in the eleventh century and was adopted by the canons of Saint-Jean-en-Vallée[10], who also owned the church of Saint Stephen in Chartres, close to the cathedral, to conform to the cathedral's office.

The use of York, which, as we have seen, is identical to that of the Holy Sepulchre in the office for All Saints, is different in this office, a derivation from Rouen, either from Rouen itself or via St Stephen's, Caen or Saint Wandrille; see OTTOSEN p. 120 and 251:

	R.		V.	
1.	R. Credo quod redemptor	[014]	V. Quem uisurus	[177]
2.	R. Qui Lazarum	[072]	V. Requiem eternam	*[198]*
3.	R. Domine quando	[024]	V. Commissa mea	[034]
4.	R. Heu mihi	[032]	V. Anima mea	[012]
5.	R. Ne recorderis	[057]	V. Dirige domine	[059]
6.	R. Libera me domine de vis inferni	*[040]*	V. Clamantes	*[031]*

[9] HS[7] also presents an alternating Roman series of responsories, added in the margins in a later hand: R. Credo quod redemptor [014] R. Qui Lazarum [072] R. Domine, quando veneris [024] R. Memento mei, deus, quia ventus [046] R. Heu mihi [032] R. Ne recorderis [057] R. Peccante me [068] R. Domine, secundum actum [028] R. Libera me, domine, de viis [040].

[10] COTTINEAU I p. 714-5; *DHGE* XII col. 560.

	R.		V.	
	R. Congregati sunt	*[012]*	V. Ne littera iuventuti	*[???]*
7.	R. Peccantem	*[068]*	V. Deus in nomine	*[053]*
8.	R. Deus eterne	*[018]*	V. Qui in cruce positus	*[184]*
	R. Absolve domine animas eorum	*[001]*	V. Etque illis sunt	*[324]*
9.	R. Libera me, domine, de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa	[055]

Rouen presents two series, the one that we have encountered above and the following, from Ro[1]: 014 072 024 032 057 *040* 068 082 038.

Ev[3] is also very different, a derivation from an Aquitanian series, whose earliest exemplar is a tenth-century pontifical said to be from the Benedictine abbey of Aurillac (Albi, BM, ms. 20); see OTTOSEN p. 163 and 312-14:

	R.		V.	
1.	R. Credo quod redemptor	[014]	V. Quem uisurus	[177]
2.	R. Qui Lazarum	[072]	V. Requiem eternam	[198]
3.	R. Peccantem me	[068]	V. Deus in nomine	[053]
4.	R. Heu mihi	[032]	V. Anima mea	[012]
5.	R. Ne recorderis	[057]	V. Dirige domine	[059]
6.	R. Domine secundum actum	[028]	V. Amplius	[008]
7.	R. Memento mei	[046]	V. Et non revertetur	[091]
8.	R. Requiem eternam	*[082]*	V. Qui Lazarum	*[185]*
9.	R. Libera me, domine, de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa	[055]

The Teutonic use presents two traditions. The first and earliest is taken from the Dominican liturgy (OTTOSEN p. 109 and 242), as is seen in Te[5-8]:

	R.	
1.	R. Credo quod redemptor	[014]
2.	R. Qui Lazarum	[072]
3.	R. Domine, quando veneris	[024]
4.	R. Heu mihi	[032]
5.	R. Ne recorderis	[057]
6.	R. Peccantem me	[068]
7.	R. Memento mei	[046]
9.	R. Libera me, domine, de morte	[038]

The second, later, tradition developed in Germany in the fifteenth century (OTTOSEN p. 196 and 356-8), and it is found in Te[6], f. CC8[v]:

	R.		V.	
1.	R. Redemptor meus	[079]	V. Lauda anima mea	[125]
2.	R. Rogamus te	[083]	V. Misericors et miserator	[147]
3.	R. Ne tradas	[058]	V. Memorare	[138]
4.	R. Quomodo confitebor	[076]	V. Tibi soli peccavi	[222]
5.	R. Memento queso	[047]	V. Vitam et misericordiam	[242]

6.	R. Deus eterne in cuius	[018]	V. Qui in cruce positus	[184]
7.	R. Absolve domine	[001]	V. Si que illi sunt	[216]
8.	R. Cognoscimus domine	[010]	V. Vita nostra in dolore	[240]
9.	R. Libera me...de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa	[055]
			V. Tremens	[227]
			V. Quid ego miserrimus	[180]
			V. Nunc Christe	[403]
			V. Creator omnium	[038]

G — Series of responsories and versicles found in the Office for the Dedication of the Church

The office for the dedication of the church is found in breviaries, antiphonaries, and ordinals. For the analysis of this office I have made use of Beyssac's material, notwithstanding any other published analytical work on this office. For this reason, I will not provide his numerical reference, but will give the text of responsories and versicles in full. HS[5] is the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain this office:

Invitatorium : Filie Syon currite

1.	R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2.	R. Fundata est domus domini	V. Venientes autem
3.	R. Domus mea domus orationis	V. Domum tuam domine
4.	R. Benedic domine domum istam	V. Si peccaverit populus
5.	R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus domini
6.	R. O quam metuendus est	V. Vere dominus est in loco
7.	R. Sanctificavit dominus tabernaculum	V. Domus mea domus
8.	R. Vidi civitatem sanctam Iherusalem	V. Vidi angelum dei
9.	R. Mane surgens Iacob	V. Cumque mane evigilasset
	R. Terribilis est locus iste	V. Cumque evigilasset Iacob

The same series is found in HS[4] (Position 1 : V. *In hymnis et confessionibus*. Position 9 : V. *Cumque evigilasset Iacob*). HS[7] presents the responsory and versicle of position 6 at the end (therefore position 6 : R. *Sanctificauit* V. *Domus mea*. Position 7 : R. *Vidi ciuitatem* V. *Vidi angelum*. Position 8 : R. *Mane surgens Iacob* V. *Cunque mane surrexisset Iacob* (a variant). Position 9 : R. *O quam metuendus* V. *Vere dominus*).

Unfortunately we do not have data for this office from the breviaries of the Holy Sepulchre produced in Cyprus, as HS[16] and HS[17] are fragmentary and HS[18] does not seem to contain it. HSN has at position 1 : V. *Fundata est*, and at position 9 : only R. *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset Iacob*.

The use of the Holy Sepulchre for the dedication of the church clearly derives from Chartres ; in fact there is a perfect correspondence with Ch[3-9], the only difference consisting in the use of the Invitatorium *Domus mea domus orationis* in the Chartres tradition :

Invitatorium : Domus mea domus orationis

1.	R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2.	R. Fundata est domus domini	V. Venientes autem
3.	R. Domus mea domus orationis	V. Domum tuam domine
4.	R. Benedic domine domum istam	V. Si peccaverit populus
5.	R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus domini
6.	R. O quam metuendus est	V. Vere dominus est in loco
7.	R. Sanctificavit dominus tabernaculum	V. Domus mea domus
8.	R. Vidi civitatem sanctam Iherusalem	V. Vidi angelum dei
9.	R. Mane surgens Iacob	V. Cumque mane evigilasset

Ch[10] (destroyed in 1944 according to Delaporte p. 10) presented a single variant in the versicle of position 9 : V. *Cumque evigilasset Iacob*.

All Hospitaller sources present one variant, which consists in the absence of R. *Vidi civitatem sanctam Iherusalem* V. *Vidi angelum dei*, in position 8 in the office of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the consequent adoption of the responsories and versicles of position 9, which presents an alternating responsory, in positions 8 and 9. Probably this variant derives from an exemplar of the Holy Sepulchre now lost :

Hos[6] (Position 1 : V. *Ornaverunt faciem templi*. Position 8 : R. *Mane surgens Iacob* V. *Cumque mane surrexisset Iacob*. Position 9 : R. *Terribilis est* V. *Vidit Iacob scalam* V. *Hec est domus domini* V. *Firmiter ed.*) ; Hos[14] Hos[15] Hos[18] Hos[22] and Hos[23] (Position 8 : R. *Mane surgens Iacob* V. *Cumque mane surrexisset Iacob*. Position 9 : R. *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset Iacob*) ; Hos[24] and Hos[26] (Position 8 : R. *Mane surgens Iacob* V. *Cumque evigilasset*. Position 9 : R. *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset Iacob*).

It should be noted, finally, that Carm[5] (Zimmerman p. 61) presents many variants from the series of the Holy Sepulchre :

Invitatorium : Exultemus

1.	R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2.	R. Fundata est	V. Veniens autem
3.	R. Mane surgens Iacob	V. Vidit Iacob scalam
4.	R. Benedic domine	V. Beati qui habitant/

	Domine si conversus
5. R. O quam metuendus est	V. Mane surgens
6. R. Orantibus in loco	V. Domine exaudi orationem
7. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus domini
8. R. Domus mea domus	V. Domum tuam domine
9. R. Terribilis est	V. Cumque evigilasset Iacob

This Carmelite series is much closer to Sa[1]. The only variant consists in the presence of R. *Beati qui habitant* V. *Domine exaudi orationem* in position 6 of the Sarum series, with the subsequent moving down of place of the following responsories and versicles and the disappearance of R. *Terribilis est* with its versicle:

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2. R. Fundata est	V. Veniens autem
3. R. Mane surgens Iacob	V. Vidit Iacob scalam
4. R. Benedic domine	V. Beati qui habitant/ Domine si conversus
5. R. O quam metuendus est	V. Mane surgens
6. R. Beati qui habitant	V. Domine exaudi orationem
7. R. Orantibus in loco	V. Domine exaudi orationem
8. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus domini
9. R. Domus mea domus	V. Domum tuam domine

The Bayeux series is completely different, as is seen from B[6] (p. 268):

Invitatorium: Domus mea domus orationis

1. R. In dedicatione templi
2. R. Fundamenta eius
3. R. Benedic domine domum istam
4. R. Sanctificavit dominus tabernaculum
5. R. Domus mea domus orationis
6. R. Mane surgens Iacob
7. R. Vidi civitatem sanctam Iherusalem
8. R. Lapides preciosi
9. R. O quam metuendus est

Yo[5] also is completely different:

Invitatorium: Filie Syon currite

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. In hymnis et confess.
2. R. Fundata est domus domini	V. Venientes autem
3. R. Benedic domine domum	V. Domine si conuersus
4. R. Beati qui habitant	V. Non priuabis

5. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Vidi civitatem sanctam
6. R. Vidi civitatem Ierusalem	V. Vidi angelum dei
7. R. Domus mea	V. Petite et
8. R. Mane surgens	V. Pavensque ipse dicit
9. R. Terribilis est	V. Vos estis templum

Ro[10] has:

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2. R. Fundata est domus domini	V. Venientes autem
3. R. Domus mea	V. Domum tuam
4. R. Benedic domine domum	V. Domine si conuersus
5. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus
6. R. Mane surgens	V. Vidit Iacob
7. R. O quam metuendus est	V. Mane surgens vere
8. R. Beati qui habitant	V. Non priuabis
9. R. Terribilis est	V. Cunque evigilasset

Te[6], f. M6[v], has:

Invitatorium: Templum hoc sanctum

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2. R. Fundata est	V. Venientes autem
3. R. Visita qs. domine habitationem	V. Benedic domine domum istam
4. R. Benedic domine...quam	V. Domine si conversus fuerit
5. R. Mane surgens Iacob erigebat	V. Vidit Iacob scalam
6. R. Terribilis est	V. Cumque evigilasset Iacob
7. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus domini
8. R. Domus mea	V. Domum tuam domine
9. R. Benedic domine...et omnes	V. Conserva dne in ea timentes
V. Domine dilexi decorem	

H — Officium quotidianum de Beata Maria Virgine

The *officium quotidianum de BMV* developed slowly from the tenth to the twelfth century and in different places; it was recited either in community celebration or as an individual pious devotion[11]. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it came into general use and was even an obligation of the clergy until the 1568 *Breviarium*

[11] J. Leclercq, Fragmenta mariana, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 72, 1958, p. 292-301, at 294-5.

Romanum[12]. The evolution of the *officium de BMV* coincides with that of the book in which it can generally be found, the book of hours, which from the thirteenth century onwards became independent of the psalter and to a large extent replaced it as the basic book of Christian piety. The *cursus* of the office evolved from its short form with three lessons to become a full office containing all hours and, for each of them, all the formulae of an integral office[13]. During the formation period a group of formulae imposed themselves as the traditional repertory which could be arranged differently and freely to express piety towards the mother of God[14].

The various forms of the *officium de BMV* in England have been studied since the late nineteenth century, and an index with also some continental forms was published by Falconer Madan († 1935). His work was enlarged by two French scholars, Victor Leroquais († 1946) and Gabriel Beyssac († 1965). At present Laurent Cavet, under the supervision of Pierre-Marie Gy, is producing a computerized synthesis of the work of the three scholars. The system developed by these scholars consists of a method that records the variants which occur within the *officium de BMV*, and in so doing identifies the peculiarities typical of each liturgical use and consequently allows a comparison of different uses. The method adopted by Madan[15] and Beyssac[16] consists of the registration of (1) the antiphon of Prime; (2) the capitulum of Prime; (3) the antiphon of None; (4) the capitulum of None. Leroquais[17] expanded this method to include more clues for identification. His work, which classifies around 250 documents, consists of 10 elements of identification: (1) the first antiphon of Matins; (2) the first lesson of Matins; (3) the first antiphon of Lauds; (4) the capitulum of Lauds; (5) the hymn of Lauds; (6) the antiphon *ad Benedictus* of

[12] *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto ss. Concilii Tridentini*, Rome, 1568. P.-M. Gy, The Medieval *Officium Quotidianum de Beata Maria Virgine* and its Organization in the various local Liturgies, an unpublished paper delivered in August 1997 to the Societas Liturgica, Turku (Finland).

[13] J. Leclercq, Formes anciennes de l'Office marial, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 74, 1960, p. 89-102, at 89 n. 74.

[14] *Ibid.* p. 102.

[15] F. Madan, Documents and Records. A. Hours of the Virgin Mary (Tests for Localization), in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 2nd quarter III/26, 1920, p. 40-44, reprinted with few additions in *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, Oxford, 1927, p. 21-9.

[16] Beyssac's material is still unpublished.

[17] Leroquais's note-books, unpublished, are in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3162.

Lauds; (7) the antiphon of Prime; (8) the capitulum of Prime; (9) the antiphon of None; (10) and the capitulum of None.

As far as the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre is concerned, the situation is slightly unusual. None of the early sources presents the *officium de BMV*; the earliest manuscript of the Holy Sepulchre which might have contained it, the psalter datable to *c*.1135 (HS[4]), does not; nor do the breviaries; and we do not have books of hours that can safely be assigned to the Holy Sepulchre. This is not surprising considering that the first books brought to Jerusalem dated, basically, from the end of the eleventh century, when the *officium de BMV* was still slowly developing into an independent form of prayer. Yet, the orders of the Hospitallers and Carmelites, both of which adopted the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, share the same *officium de BMV*, thus suggesting a common source. None of the Western uses that influenced the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre (Bayeux, Évreux, Paris, and Chartres) presents a similar series: from the method of identification developed by Madan and Beyssac, the Hospitaller and Carmelite office appears to be a variant of the use of Toul. Until further studies are conducted on the data collected on the *officium de BMV*, so that a geographical spread of this office is established, our inferences can only be taken as provisional. It seems, however, that Hospitallers and Carmelites would only have shared the same office if it came from a common and authoritative source, that is at a time when their liturgical use was still directly influenced by that of the Holy Sepulchre. It would be quite unlikely, chronologically and historically, to find the use of the *officium de BMV* in twelfth-century Jerusalem. It is more likely that this office was introduced into the use of the Holy Sepulchre in thirteenth-century Acre, and particularly in the second half of the century, when cultural and artistic interchange with Europe, and with France in particular, was more frequent. Jacques Pantaleon, patriarch of Jerusalem between 1255 and 1261, had been bishop of Verdun since 1252, and the breviary used by the Templars of Acre which was composed between 1256 and 1261 (HS[14]) contained a calendar of Metz later adapted to the use of the Holy Sepulchre. Toul, Verdun and Metz are neighbouring towns and it is plausible that liturgical material from one of these three places found its way to Acre with Jacques Pantaleon and his entourage.

According to the Madan / Beyssac method, the Hospitaller and Carmelite series is the following:

Prime. Antiphona	1)	Assumpta est
Capitulum	2)	Ab initio

Hour	Element	No.	Text
None.	Antiphona	3)	Pulchra es
	Capitulum	4)	Sicut cynamomum

The Toul series is:

Hour	Element	No.	Text
Prime.	Antiphona	1)	Assumpta est
	Capitulum	2)	Ab initio
None.	Antiphona	3)	Pulchra es
	Capitulum	4)	Quasi cedrus

The only difference is found in the capitulum at None (position 4): *Sicut cynamomum* in the Hospitallers series, *Quasi cedrus* in Toul.

Among the Hospitallers's sources, only the 1547 edition of the breviary made for the Hospitaller sisters of Sigena, Hos^{25}, presents exactly the use of Toul, with no variation.

The Hospitallers, however, also developed a variant series, where the capitulum at None (position 4) *Sicut cynamomum* is replaced with *In plateis*, which is found in the Roman use (*Assumpta est – Que est ista – Pulchra es – In plateis*). The new variant series is thus as follows:

Hour	Element	No.	Text
Prime.	Antiphona	1)	Assumpta est
	Capitulum	2)	Ab initio
None.	Antiphona	3)	Pulchra es
	Capitulum	4)	In plateis (Roman influence)

This variant series is found in Hos^{2}, Hos^{3}, Hos^{12}, and Hos^{13}.

Among the early printed books, Hos^{22} and Hos^{23} present the original Holy Sepulchre series, and Hos^{24} and Hos^{26} present the new one. This suggests that the original series was exported to the Hospitaller daughter-houses in Europe from thirteenth-century Acre, while the variant series was developed within the Hospitaller environment at a later stage. The mandate for publication printed on f. $++3^{v}$ of the 1517 edition of the Hospitaller Breviary (Hos^{24}) states that it used as exemplar a manuscript from Rhodes that was considered to be a better representative of the original liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre. Therefore the variant to the Hospitaller *officium de BMV* which presents the Roman influence was probably introduced in Rhodes. This inference is also confirmed by the presence of the variant series in Hos^{3} and Hos^{12}, two books of hours probably written in Rhodes. Moreover, Hos^{3}, Hos^{24}, and Hos^{26} present in the office of the dead the same variant versicles of HS^{16} written in Cyprus, to where the Hospitallers, together with most of the ecclesiastical establishment of the Holy Land, had moved before settling in Rhodes in 1309.

Here for comparison are the series of other uses:

Use	Series
Bayeux:	Beata mater – Ab initio – In prole – Paradisi porta
Chartres:	O admirabile – Qui gloriatur – Ecce Maria – Per te dei
Évreux:	O admirabile – Sancta et immaculata – Germinavit – Felix namque
Metz:	Sub tuum presidium – Hec est virgo sanata – Beata mater – Per te dei
Paris:	Benedicta tu – Felix namque – Sicut lilium – Per te dei
Rome:	Assumpta est – Quae est – Pulchra es – In plateis
Rouen:	Maria virgo – Per te dei – Pulchra es – Et radicavi
Sarum:	O admirabile – In omnibus – Germinavit – Et radicavi
Sées:	O admirabile – Ab initio – Germinavit – Et radicavi
York:	Prophetae – Egredietur virga – Benedicta tu – Ave Maria
Verdun:	Quanto natus es – Ab initio – Ecce Maria genuit nobis – Paradisi porta

The Teutonic series, as given by Te^{6}, f. $ff1^{r}$, is the following:

Dignare me – Regi seculorum – Beata mater – Quasi cedrus

This use corresponds, with a variant, to the Dominican one. The variant is found in the capitulum at Prime (position 2), which in the Dominican use is *Ab initio*, while in the Teutonic use is *Regi seculorum*.

To conclude, it can safely be said that the *officium de BMV* practised by Hospitallers and Carmelites and associated with the use of the Holy Sepulchre was not created at the same time as the rest of the Office of the Holy Sepulchre, but that it was a later addition. It was introduced to Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century, probably from Toul or from a source common to Toul and the Holy Sepulchre, which further studies on the geography of the *officium de BMV* should eventually help to identify.

CONCLUSIONS

Having traced as far as possible the Western sources of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, a few conclusive considerations should now be made. First, it is important to notice how despite the importance of ecclestiastical relations between Jerusalem and the northern French dioceses of Rheims, Arras, Thérouanne, and with the order of Arrouaise, these never extended to influence the liturgy itself – a warning against generalization and yet again a call for distinction between what pertains to ecclesiastical policies on one hand and liturgical practice on the other.

THE LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF ANTIOCH

Secondly, I would like to go back to the Chartres features contained in HS[7], the breviary datable to *c.*1200 probably made for Peter of Limoges, archbishop of Caesarea. I originally thought that they simply reflected the contents of an exemplar either that reached Jerusalem at the time of the patriarchate of Stephen of La Ferté (1128-30) and somehow survived, or that was a more recent arrival at Acre from the same place. I have now come to the conclusion that this manuscript is an indirect witness to the liturgical practice of the Church of Antioch, which, from its beginning, seems to have adopted the use of Chartres. Saints from the area extending around Paris and Chartres are a noticeable presence in the only surviving calendar from Antioch, preserved in the miscellaneous manuscript Vaticanus latinus 14815. The calendar was identified by Victor Saxer as having been used by Opizzo I Fieschi, the Latin patriarch of Antioch (1247-92), in the thirteenth century[1]. Until now it was the only surviving exemplar of the liturgical practice of the patriarchate of Antioch and it contains some forty Antiochene saints that are not found in the Jerusalem sanctoral. Among the Western saints recorded, Vedastus and Amandus (6 Feb.), Albinus (1 Mar.), Medardus and Gildardus (8 June), Maurilius (13 Sept.), Lam-

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[1] Rome, BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 14815, f. 22-7 ; V. SAXER, Le calendrier de l'église latine d'Antioche à l'usage du patriarche Opizzo Ier Fieschi (1254-1255), in *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 26, 1972, p. 105-23.

bertus (17 Sept.), Nicasius (11 Oct.) and Leonardus (6 Nov.), and, to a lesser extent, Arnulphus (18 July), Audoenus (24 Aug.), Firminus (25 Sept.) and Fides (6 Oct.) are common to the Jerusalem sanctoral. However Furseus (16 Jan.) abbot of Lagny, near Paris, and venerated in the diocese of Amiens; Laumerus (*i.e.* Launomarus 19 Jan.) abbot of Corbion, Chartres; Geminianus (31 Jan.), bishop of Modena; Senator (15 July), venerated in the diocese of Troyes; Arnulfus (18 July), bishop (?) of Tours, venerated in the forest of Yvelins, between Paris and Chartres; and Euvertus (*i.e.* Aubertus 7 Sept.), bishop of Avranches, are solely found in the Antiochene sanctoral[2]. In his analysis, Saxer did not approach the question of the place where the manuscript was written, nor that of the Western sources identifiable in the calendar. HS[11], the so-called Pontifical of Apamea, was probably written for Peter II of Ivrea, patriarch of Antioch (1209-17). It is therefore another witness to the Antiochene Latin rite; however, because of the type of book – a pontifical does not contain a calendar, a sanctoral, or the chant repertory – HS[11] does not provide any further information on the liturgical use adopted in Antioch. Chartres features crop up as variants in Hospitaller manuscripts (such as Hos[1] and Hos[12]) whose exemplars originated in the Holy Land or in the Mediterranean. They are also detected in the series of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses of Jerusalem manuscripts of the 1150s and 1160s. Now, among the eight manuscripts identified by Anneliese Maier as having belonged to the church of Sidon, the thirteenth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1794 contains Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, Gregory, *Supra Canticum Canticorum*, and an *Ordinarium canonicorum regularium S. Johannis Carnotensis* (f. 46-166)[3]. Sidon was part of the ecclesiastical province of Tyre, which in turn depended on the patriarchate of Antioch until 1138, when Innocent II transferred it to the patriarchate of Jerusalem[4]. Ralph of Merencourt († 1224) was bishop of Sidon from 1210 until his appointment to the patriarchal see of Jerusalem in 1215[5]. The explanation to the Chartres features in HS[7] should be found in the fact that it was copied from sources available in Sidon, Tyre, or Antioch in the twelfth century eventually used within the patriarchate of Jerusalem, that is to say in Tyre, Caesarea,

[2] *Ibid.* p. 107-9; the calendar is edited in full at p. 112-23.
[3] *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, Paris, 1940, II no. 1794; see Chapter III, note 10; MAIER p. 40.
[4] BRESC-BAUTIER no. 196.
[5] HAMILTON p. 251-6.

or Acre, at the beginning of the thirteenth century for lack of more proper liturgical material.

The reason why the liturgy of Chartres ended up being practised within the patriarchate of Antioch has to be searched for in the pattern of diffusion of Norman liturgical uses across Europe. First of all, as Hiley notes in his analysis of the Norman chant traditions, two main traditions are found in Normandy: a secular one, which imported established traditions from the southern border (Brittany, Anjou, the Loire Valley, and Chartres), and a monastic one, which imported the use of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon[6]. In the duchy of Apulia, the principality of Capua and the county of Sicily Robert of Hauteville, Richard Drengot, and Roger of Hauteville, with the support of the papacy, reshaped the ecclesiastical organization of the territory, in most cases placing Norman men as bishops and members of cathedral chapters[7]. This left its mark on liturgical practice in the form of the ritum Gallicanum, which kept being used and printed up to the Council of Trent. The settlement of the Normans in southern Italy introduced two families of liturgical books : a general group related to Norman non-Dijon uses, but to no particular church (or at least not yet identified), and a group of books from Palermo (such as Pal[1]) depending clearly on Chartres practice[8].

Since its conquest in 1098, the principality of Antioch was ruled by Bohemond of Taranto (1098-1111), who, among his following to the first crusade in 1096, counted the vidame of Chartres Bartholomew Boel, as well as two known Norman landowners from Sicily, Robert of Sourdeval and Roger of Barneville, out of a contingent of over 500 knights[9]. Moreover Ordericus Vitalis reports that Bohemond married Constance (1078-1125), daughter of the king of France at Chartres in 1106[10]. It is therefore plausible that liturgical books presenting the use of Chartres were introduced to Antioch via Sicily, that is to say by somebody within Bohemond's southern Italian entourage. In striking contrast with the almost absolute responsibility of the patriarchs and the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre in the liturgical organization of Jerusalem, Bernard of Valence, patriarch of

[6] HILEY, *The Norman Chant Traditions*, p. 7.
[7] E. CUOZZO, Les évêques d'origine normande en Italie et en Sicile, in *Les évêques normands du xie siècle. Actes du Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (30 septembre – 3 octobre 1993)*, ed. P. BOUET and F. NEVEUX, Caen, 1995, p. 67-78.
[8] HILEY, *The Norman Chant Traditions*, p. 8.
[9] According to Lupus Protospatharius; RILEY-SMITH, *The First Crusaders*, p. 100-1.
[10] ORDERICUS VITALIS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. M. CHIBNALL, 6 vols, Oxford, 1969-80, VI p. 70; RILEY-SMITH, *The First Crusaders*, p. 79.

Antioch from 1100 to 1135, does not seem to have had much to do with the liturgical arrangements of his patriarchate.

This discovery has even wider implications. We have seen in Chapter I how, within the use of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, the Easter office and that for the dedication of the church were derived from Chartres. I suggested that this component is a later addition introduced in circa 1114 by Patriarch Arnulf under the influence of Fulcher of Chartres. In the present light, this would mean that Fulcher suggested not simply the introduction of the liturgical use of his place of provenance, but of one that was practised within the patriarchate of Antioch, specifically in Edessa, where he had come from. A final question worth pondering is this : did Fulcher have any involvement in the selection or formulation of the liturgy of the patriarchate of Antioch itself?

Anglo-Norman and southern Italian Norman influences

Finally, the identity of the series of responsories of the Holy Sepulchre office for All Saints with that of York, and the similarity to that of Hereford, introduces two different questions : the relationship between the office of these two English dioceses and that of Jerusalem, and the relationship between York and Hereford itself. The answer to the first point should be searched for in a common, probably Norman, source introduced independently to both England and Jerusalem. Having found in Paris the origin of the Jerusalem rite for this office, the question remains open as to its adoption in England : directly from Paris, through the mediation of a place such as Sées, or a community closely connected with Paris such as the Victorines, or indeed by some other way not yet identified? We have also seen that the York office of the dead derives, directly or indirectly, from Rouen. For this office too Jerusalem and York seem to rely on a common source, apparently without direct relationship between them. These findings agree with Hiley's data according to which sources from Hereford closely resemble Norman secular uses, that of the cathedral of Rouen in particular, but they clash as far as post-pentecost Alleluia verses. In this respect Hiley correctly inferred that York and Durham were northern outposts of the Canterbury monastic practice imported by Lanfranc from Bec[11]. As to the second point, the relationship between York and Hereford, it is worth observing that in the early days after the conquest Gerard († 1108) seems to be

[11] Hiley, *The Norman Chant Traditions*, p. 10.

the only person who was connected with both sees : a precentor of the cathedral of Rouen, a chaplain and chancellor of William I and William Rufus, he was appointed bishop of Hereford in 1096 and subsequently archbishop of York in 1101[12].

The offices for All Saints and All Souls are not the only cases where we encounter similarities between Jerusalem and English sources. English saints appear in the calendar of HS^4, and we have seen how the series of post-Pentecost Alleluias was modified in HS^5 to include verses that are found in series from Norman Sicily and Norman England[13]. Buchthal observed how the presence in Jerusalem of the Englishman William, prior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the second quarter of the twelfth century and archbishop of Tyre *c.*1127-35, should be related to the production of HS^4 and, he suggested, with the foundation of the scriptorium attached to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Buchthal assumed William to be a monk, in consideration of the predominance of monastic institutions over canonical ones in England at the period. Yet, if there is one thing that stands out clearly from the liturgical data now available, it is that the English element in Jerusalem does not appear to be monastic, but canonical, and of the Anglo-Norman kind. Therefore the English contribution to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, if such a contribution did exist, should be seen as originating from among the Anglo-Norman bishoprics, who would also have been more receptive to the crusading cause so forcefully embraced by the Normans. It should be remembered, for example, that Gerard, archbishop of York, is said to have joined the crusade of Bohemond in 1107-8, though it is unlikely that he actually did because he died in England in May 1108[14].

The determination of the source employed for the introduction of the three variants into HS^5 and, more generally, the problem of evaluating the English and southern Italian contribution to the liturgy of

[12] S. Mooers Christelow, Chancellors and Curial Bishops : Ecclesiastical Promotions and Power in Anglo-Norman England, in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1999*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, Woodbridge, 2000 (Anglo-Norman Studies, 22), p. 49-69, at 56-8. Gerard was possibly a distant kinsman of the Conqueror ; he had a great reputation for his learning and eloquence, and enriched the cathedral of York with five churches that were granted him by Henry I ; see *DNB*.

[13] The « Bec » tradition could well have been taken to southern Italy by Guimond († before 1097), a monk of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy, a pupil of Lanfranc at Bec, and nominated by Urban II bishop of Aversa in 1088 ; Cuozzo, *Les évêques*, p. 73-8.

[14] *Quadripartitus*, ed. F. Liebermann, Halle, 1892, p. 161-2 ; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 239.

the Holy Sepulchre cannot be assessed more thoroughly until further studies are conducted on the geographical spread of the post-Pentecost Alleluia verses in general, and on the Norman tradition in particular, to assess the relationship between Normandy, Norman Italy and Norman England. From the data gathered so far we may infer that the variants introduced in HS[5] came either from Norman Italy directly, or from wherever the Norman southern Italian series originated, or from Norman England, probably introduced there from the same Norman source which spread into Italy. Until the ecclesiastical and liturgical relationship between Normandy and the places which were to receive its influence, England and southern Italy, is carefully assessed, their contribution to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre will remain an unspecified presence.

More certainty about the origin of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre can be achieved only with the advancement of the research in two directions: first, the discovery of new evidence concerning the clergy and laity who went to Jerusalem, extracted from contemporary European chronicles and cartularies on the basis of the work presently carried on by Jonathan Riley-Smith; and secondly, the assessment, through comparative analysis of the extant liturgical sources, of the relationship between different liturgical uses. Liturgical manuscripts and early printed books from Norman England and Norman Italy do survive: a few are listed in this book, and more are available. I hope to have shown with this work that historical research can be advanced substantially by making good use of these sources.

PART TWO

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

Cataloguing Principles

For the preparation of this descriptive catalogue of liturgical manuscripts[1] I have tried to follow the exemplary *Iter Helveticum* published in the series Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia and in particular Dom François Huot's *Les manuscrits liturgiques du Canton de Genève*[2]. This catalogue includes manuscripts wide ranging in type, origin and date, but they all share the same liturgical characteristics. Therefore I can see little benefit, at the present stage, in providing for each text an identification of the euchological pieces (with reference to the *Concordances et tableaux pour l'étude des grands Sacramentaires*[3], and to the *Corpus Orationum*[4]), as well as identification of the chant

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[1] A useful text for the understanding of liturgical terminology is É. PALAZZO, *Le Moyen Âge, des origines au XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1993 (Histoire des livres liturgiques), transl. into English by M. BEAUMONT, Collegeville, Minn., 1998. See also V. FIALA and W. IRTENKAUF, Versuch einer liturgischen Nomenklatur, in *Zur Katalogisierung Mittelalterlicher und neuerer Handschriften*, ed. C. KÖTTELWESCH, Frankfurt am Main, 1963, p. 105-37 ; D. BALBONI, Nomenclatura per la catalogazione dei libri liturgici, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 99, 1985, p. 517-24 ; C. VOGEL, *Medieval liturgy. An introduction to the sources*, translated and revised by W. G. STOREY and N. K. RASMUSSEN, Washington, DC, 1986 ; B. BAROFFIO, I manoscritti liturgici : loro individuazione e descrizione, in *Documentare il manoscritto : problematica di un censimento. Atti del seminario di Roma 6-7 aprile 1987*, ed. T. GARGIULO, Rome, 1987, p. 67-85 ; *id.*, La liturgia romana e le sue fonti manoscritte, in *Guida a una descrizione uniforme dei manoscritti e al loro censimento*, ed. V. JEMOLO and M. MORELLI, Rome, 1990, p. 145-200.

[2] F. HUOT, *Les manuscrits liturgiques du canton de Genève. Iter Helveticum V*, Fribourg, 1990 (Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia, 19).

[3] J. DESHUSSES and B. DARRAGON, *Concordances et tableaux pour l'étude des grands Sacramentaires. T. I : Concordance des pièces, T. II : Tableaux synoptiques, T. III : Concordance verbale*, Fribourg, 1982-3 (Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia, 9-14).

[4] *Corpus Orationum*, ed. E. MOELLER, *et al.*, 11 vols, Turnhout, 1992-99 (CCSL, 160-160J).

repertory (responsories, versicles, hymns, etc). Such work should, I believe, be conducted during the preparation of an edition of the Ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre, which can now be easily and fruitfully undertaken on the basis of this catalogue of liturgical exemplars. However, identification is generally provided for later additions to the text, because in most cases these are representative of a different tradition.

The following conventions have been adopted for transcriptions. Punctuation and capitalization have been modernized, although the orthography has been preserved. Manuscript abbreviations have been expanded silently and faulty word separation corrected. Gaps in the original and passages illegible due to damage are represented in brackets. Editorial comments or emendations are enclosed within parentheses. Unless otherwise stated, the language is always Latin.

The catalogue is arranged chronologically. In the catalogue entries, the heading states, in the left-hand corner, the type of manuscript, with its date and present location. In the right-hand corner there is the provenance.

The layout of the description comprises three parts: content, physical description, and history of the book. The first and more substantial part of the catalogue description concentrates on the content. For conventional abbreviations, see p. 9-10. Incipits and explicits of the different sections of the text are provided. The type of piece, rubricated in the manuscripts and books, is given in Roman type (Intr.) while its text in italics (*Ad te levavi...*).

The « calendar » heading lists those entries which depart from the list of saints generally attested in liturgical sources by the twelfth century and established on the basis of the Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentary, with the addition of those feasts universally adopted by the Latin Church in the tenth and eleventh century[5]. Also included in this section are alterations and additions to the calendar in the form of entries of other saints' names, obituary notes, etc. However, a transcription of the text of the calendars of the Holy Sepulchre in full, with a specification of grades (when included in the text), is provided separately in the Appendix. The use of tabular format for a synoptic presentation of the calendars, which I derived from Buchthal–Wormald, allows a quick, clear, and useful verification of the consistency *versus* adaptation or modification happening synchronically and diachronically among the same group of manuscripts. Among the litur-

[5] For a complete list of these « common » saints see *Iter Helveticum* V p. 43-7.

gical data taken into consideration, the calendars, together with the litanies, also transcribed in full, are the most fluctuating elements. While undeniably related to the proper of a specific use, they are structurally more easily subject to alteration[6], and in this respect they are representative of the first stage of adaptation, and, for us, of identification.

Within the section of the catalogue pertaining to the temporal, the folio number of the first week of Advent, *Triduum Sacrum*, and first Sunday after the octave of Pentecost are noted, as liturgical data from these feasts are analysed in Chapter V. A complete list of the *missae diversae* or *votivae* and of the petitions which follow the litanies is generally provided, since for reasons already given in the Introduction, they reflect a local selection and are therefore relevant for identification purposes. For the sanctoral, as for the calendars, a list of the saints generally attested by the twelfth century is not usually given, but feasts which are proper to a specific use are noted, as well as more recent feasts whose inclusion is relevant to the spread of the cult and the age of the manuscript. As with the temporal, reference is given, however, to all feasts analysed in detail in Chapter V, among which are « common » entries such as All Saints (1 Nov.), and All Souls (2 Nov.). Moreover, the sanctoral is transcribed in full where a calendar is missing or fragmentary or when significant discrepancies are found between the calendar and the sanctoral.

The second part of the catalogue description is concerned with the physical characteristics of the manuscripts. The following information is provided:

(1) Number of leaves. (2) Material and ink. (3) Overall dimensions of the leaves. (4) Ruled space. (5) Number of columns and of lines. (6) Collation. (7) Arrangement of sheets: hair and flesh sides. (8) Pricking. (9) Ruling. (10) Catchwords. (11) Opening words of *secundo folio*. (12) Foliation or pagination. (13) Handwriting. (14) Scribal signatures, monograms, etc. (15) Corrections and marginal or interlinear notes made at or near time of writing. (16) Decoration. (17) Binding. (18) Origin.

Finally, the third part of the catalogue description deals with provenance, later ownership (including later manuscript additions), and bibliographic references.

[6] It is much easier to add or delete the name of a saint in the calendar and litanies, in so doing already showing a minimum degree of adaptation to a different liturgical use, than to change an entire sequence of responsories and versicles of a specific office.

HS[1] **SACRAMENTARIUM,** *1128-30*

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 477 Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre)

1. (f. 1^v-7^r) Calendarium
(1^v) *Principium iani tropicus sanctit capricornus...* (THORNDIKE-KIBRE p. 1126).
Remarks: 30 Jan. *Hierusalem Mathie ep et cf*; 18 Feb. *Hierusalem Symeonis ep et m*; 19 Feb. (Add:) *Obiit Azo* (canon of the Holy Sepulchre, still alive in 1129; probably dead before 1132 as he is not among the canons listed in 1132; see DE ROZIÈRE p. 154 and 207); 28 Feb. *Reconditio s Augustini ep*; 1 Mar. *Andegauis Albini*; 18 Mar. *Hierusalem Alexandri ep et m*; 25 Mar. *Annunciatio [BMV] et Crucifixio Christi et Immolatio Ysaac*; 27 Mar. *Resurrectio domini*; 27 Apr. *Hic exiuit Noe de Arca*; 2 May *Alexandrie Athanasii ep*; 4 May *Hierusalem Quiriaci ep et m*; 13 May *Marie ad Martires*; 20 May *Eustasii, Hic Noe intrauit in arcam*; 4 July *Transl Martini ep*; 15 July *Festiuitas Hierusalem quando capta fuit a Christianis*; 27 July (Add:) *Obiit Warmundus patriarcha* (of Jerusalem 1119-28); 23 Aug. *Hierusalem Zachei ep et cf*; 27 Aug. *Iuliani m*; 28 Aug. *Augustini ep*; 4 Sept. *Oct Augustini*; 13 Sept. *Andegauis Maurilii ep et cf*; 25 Sept. *Cleophe disc domini et m*; 6 Oct. *Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob*; 11 Oct. *Transl Augustini ep*; 22 Oct. *Hierusalem Marci ep et m*; 29 Oct. *Hierusalem Narcissi ep et cf*; 25 Nov. *Caterine v et m*; 5 Dec. *Hierusalem Sabe ab*.

Calendar of the Holy Sepulchre; see full text in Appendix.

2. (f. 7^v-10^v) Additio, mid 14th c.
(7^v) *Dies ire dies illa soluet seculum in fauilla...Iudicandus homo reus huic ego pace deus. Pie Iesu domine dona eis requiem...* - (10^v) *Pie Iesu domine dona eis requiem. Amen.*

Text of the sequence in littera Bononiensis, with square notation on staves of three black and one red lines; see K. VELLEKOOP, *Dies ire dies illa. Studien zur Frühgeschichte Einer Sequenz*, Bilthoven, 1978, p. 31, 214-5 « G »; *Paléographie musicale*, ed. Bénédictins de Solesmes, Solesmes, 1889-, II pl. 43; *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 44 vols, Rome, 1929-81, XII p. 782 (photograph of f. 7^v-8^r).

3. (f. 11^v-109^v) Proprium de tempore
(11^v) Dominica I de aduentu domini. [Intr.] *Ad te leuaui animam meam...*; Or. *Excita domine quesumus potentiam tuam et ueni ut ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis...* - (109^v) [Dominica XXIIII.] Postcom. *Concede nobis domine quesumus ut per sacramenta que sumpsimus quicquid in nostra mente vitiosum est tue medicationis dono curetur. Per dominum.*
(16^r) Missa in nocte; (16^v) In primo mane; De s Anastasia; (18^r) In nat s Stephani; (18^v) In nat s Iohannis ap et ev; (19^r) Innocentum;

(23^v) Dominica in septuagesima; (24^r) Dominica in sexagesima; (24^v) Dominica in quinquagesima; (25^v) Feria IIII in capite ieiunii; Bn cinerum; (26^v) Exorcismus cineris; (29^r) Dominica [in] capite Quadragesime; (45^r) Dominica de passione domini; (48^r) Dominica in palmis. Bn palme et oliue; (53^v) Feria V in cena domini; (55^r) In parasceuen; (57^v) Ordo in sabbato sancto; (59^v) Bn ignis noui; (60^r) Bn cerei.

4. (f. 61^r-62^v) Litaniae sanctorum
(61^r) Kyrrie eleyson... - (62^v) *Agnus dei...Christe audi nos.*
Iohannes Baptista (Patriarchae et Prophetae); *Petre, Paule, Andrea, Iacobe, Iohannes, Thoma, Iacobe, Philippe, Bartholomee, Mathee, Symon, Tadee, Mathia, Barnaba, Luca, Marce* (Apostoli et Evangelistae); *Innocentes, Stephane, Line, Clete, Clemens, Sixte, Alexander, Cleopha, Marce, Symeon, Quiriace, Alexander, Laurenti, Vincenti, Georgi, Dionisi c.s.t., Maurici c.s.t., Eustachi c.s.t., Iohannes et Paule, Geruasi et Protasi, Cosme et Damiane, Marcelline et Petre* (Martyres); *Augustine, Siluester, Leo, Gregori, Martine, Ylari, Marcialis, Mathia, Narcisse, Zachee, Maurili, Albine, Iuliane, NICOLAE, Audomare, Hieronime, Benedicte, Maure, Antoni, Saba, Paule, Machari, Egidi* (Confessores, Monachi et Heremitae); *Maria Magdalena, Maria Egyptiaca, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Radegundis, Tecla, Paula, Pelagia, Iuliana, Fides, Spes, Caritas, Sapientia* (Virgines et Viduae).
(62^r) *Ut pacem...*; *Ut misericordia...*; *Ut ecclesiam tuam...*; *Ut domnum apostolicum...*; *Ut patriarcham nostrum et omnem gregem sibi commissum in sancta religione conseruare digneris. Per. Ut regibus et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam et victoriam donare digneris. Ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes congregationes illis commissas in sancta religione conseruare digneris. Ut cunctum populum cristianum...*; *Ut oculos...*; *Ut fructus...*; *Ut inimicos...*; *Ut gentem paganam comprimere digneris. Ut regularibus disciplinis nos instruere digneris. Ut cunctis benefactoribus...*; *Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis...*; *Ut nos exaudire digneris.*

5. (f. 62^v-[78^v]) Ordinarium missae
(62^v) Bn fontis. *O.s.d. adesto magne pietatis \tue/ misteriis adesto sacramentis...* - [(78^v) Quando mittit sancta in calicem... Or. antequam communicet dicat...; Alia...; Alia.]
(64^r) Incipit baptisterium; Exorcismus salis; (66^v) Incipiunt orationes quas sacerdos debet dicere quando ornat se sacris vestibus; (67^v) Prefatio communis;
(67^v) *Dominus vobiscum...*; (68^r) *Vere dignum...et ideo cum angelis et archangelis...sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth...*; (68^v)

Missa de comm saluatoris; (69^{v}) In dedicatione ecclesie. *Deus qui inuisibi[li]ter omnia contines...*; Secr. *O.s.d. hoc templum nomini tuo dicatum...*; Postcom. *Quesumus omnipotens deus ut in hoc templo quod nomini tuo dicari voluisti cunctis petentibus aures tue pietatis accomodes. Per dominum.*| |
(f. 70^{v}-83^{v}) Wanting

Prefaces and Canon, now Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. McClean 49 ; see below HS^{2}.

6. (f. 84^{r}-109^{v}) Proprium de tempore (cont.)
(84^{r}) [Feria V infra oct Pasche. Postcom.] | | *Populus acquisitionis annuntiate virtutes...*; (90^{r}) In die Ascensionis domini; (92^{r}) In die s Pentecoste[n]; (96^{v}) Dominica I post oct Pentecostes; (109^{v}) Dominica XXIIII.

7. (f. 110^{r}-156^{r}) Proprium de sanctis
(110^{r}) Siluestri pp. *Sacerdotes tui domine induant iustitiam...Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut Siluestri cf et pont tui...* - (156^{r}) [Thome ap.] Postcom. *Conserua domine populum tuum et quem sanctorum tuorum presidiis non desinis adiuuare perpetuis tribue gaudere remediis. Per.*
(110^{v}) 3 Jan. *Genovefe*; 14 Jan. *Felicis*; (111^{r}) 15 Jan. *Mauri ab*; 16 Jan. *Marcelli pp*; (112^{r}) 18 Jan. *Prisce*; (112^{v}) 20 Jan. *Fabiani et Sebastiani*; (113^{r}) 21 Jan. *Agnetis*; (113^{v}) 22 Jan. *Vincentii*; (114^{r}) 25 Jan. *Conuersio s Pauli*; (115^{r}) 28 Jan. *Agnetis secundo*; 2 Feb. *In Purificatione BMV*; (115^{v}) Bn candelarum; (117^{r}) 5 Feb. *Agathe*; (118^{r}) 10 Feb. *Scolastice*; *Sotheris*; (118^{v}) 14 Feb. *Valentini*; (119^{r}) 16 Feb. *Iuliane v*; 22 Feb. *Cathedra s Petri*; (119^{v}) 24 Feb. *Mathie ap*; 7 Mar. *Felicitatis et Perpetue*; (120^{r}) 12 Mar. *Gregorii pp*; 21 Mar. *Benedicti ab*; (120^{v}) 25 Mar. *In Annuntiatione BMV*; (121^{v}) 4 Apr. *Ambrosii ep*; 11 Apr. *Leonis pp*; 13 Apr. *Eufemie v*; (122^{r}) 14 Apr. *Tiburtii Valeriani et Maximi*; 23 Apr. *Georgii m*; (122^{v}) 25 Apr. *Marci ev*; (123^{r}) 28 Apr. *Vitalis*; 1 May *Philippi et Iacobi*; (123^{v}) 3 May *Alexandri Euenti et Theodoli*; (124^{r}) *Inuentio s Crucis*; (124^{v}) 6 May *Iohannis ante portam latinam*; 10 May *Gordiani et Epimachi*; (125^{r}) 12 May *Nerei Achillei atque Pancratii*; 25 May *Urbani pp*; (125^{v}) 1 June *Nicomedis*; 2 June *Marcellini et Petri*; (126^{r}) 9 June *Primi et Feliciani*; 12 June *Basilidis Cirini Nab. et Nazarii*; (126^{v}) 11 June *Barnabe*; (127^{r}) 15 June *Viti Modesti et Crescentie*; 18 June *Marci et Marcelliani*; (127^{v}) 16 June *Cirici et Iulitte*; 19 June *Geruasi et Protasii*; (128^{r}) 23 June *Vig s Iohannis Baptiste*; *Missa primo mane*; (129^{r}) 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli*; (129^{v}) 28 June *Leonis cf*; (130^{r}) *Vig Petri et Pauli*; (130^{v}) 29 June *In die*; (131^{r}) 30 June *Comm s Pauli*; (131^{v}) 2 July *Processi et Martiniani*; (132^{r}) 6 July *Oct apostolorum*; (132^{v}) 10 July *Septem fratrum*; 11 July

Benedicti ab; (133^{r}) 21 July *Praxedis v*; 22 July *Marie Magdalene*; (133^{v}) 23 July *Apollinaris*; (134^{r}) 25 July *Iacobi ap*; (134^{v}) 29 July *Simplici Faustini et Beatricis*; Eodem die *Felicis*; 30 July *Abdon et Sennes*; (135^{r}) 1 Aug. *Ad vincula s Petri*; Eodem die *ss Machabeorum et s Eusebii cf*; (135^{v}) 2 Aug. *Stephani pp*; 3 Aug. *Stephani protom et soc*; (136^{r}) 6 Aug. *Sixti pp*; Bn uue; *Felicissimi et Agapiti*; (136^{v}) 7 Aug. *Donati*; 8 Aug. *Ciriaci et soc*; (137^{r}) 9 Aug. *Vig s Laurentii*; (137^{v}) 10 Aug. *In die*; (138^{r}) 11 Aug. *Tiburcii*; 13 Aug. *Ypoliti et soc*; (138^{v}) 14 Aug. *Eusebii cf*; (139^{r}) *Vig assumptionis BMV*; 15 Aug. *In die*; (140^{v}) 17 Aug. *Oct s Laurentii*; (141^{r}) 18 Aug. *Agapiti*; 19 Aug. *Magni*; 22 Aug. *Oct s Marie*; (142^{r}) 24 Aug. *Bartholomei ap*; 27 Aug. *Rufi*; (142^{v}) 28 Aug. *Augustini ep*; *Hermetis et soc*; (143^{r}) 29 Aug. *Decollationis Iohannis Baptiste*; (143^{v}) *Sabine*; (144^{r}) 30 Aug. *Felicis et Audacti*; 1 Sept. *Prisci m*; (144^{v}) 8 Sept. *In nat BMV*; (145^{r}) *Adriani*; 9 Sept. *Gorgonii*; (145^{v}) 11 Sept. *Proti et Iacincti*; 14 Sept. *In Exaltatione s Crucis*; (146^{r}) *Cornelii et Cipriani*; 15 Sept. *Nicomedis*; (146^{v}) 16 Sept. *Lucie et Geminiani*; Eodem die *Euphemie*; (147^{r}) 20 Sept. *Vig Mathei ap*; 21 Sept. *In festiuitate*; (147^{v}) 22 Sept. *Mauricii et soc*; 27 Sept. *Cosme et Damiani*; (148^{r}) 29 Sept. *Michaelis arch*; 30 Sept. *Hieronimi*; (149^{r}) 1 Oct. *Remigi Germani et Vedasti*; 2 Oct. *Leodegarii*; (149^{v}) 7 Oct. *Marci pp et ss Marci et Apulei*; 8 Oct. *Vig ss Dionisii et soc*; 9 Oct. *Dionisii Rustici et Eleuterii*; (150^{r}) 14 Oct. *Calixti pp*; (150^{v}) 18 Oct. *Luce ev*; 27 Oct. *Vig app*; 28 Oct. *In festiuitate Symonis et Iude*; (151^{v}) 31 Oct. *Vig*; 1 Nov. *In comm omnium ss*; (152^{r}) Eodem die *Cesarii m*; 8 Nov. *Quattuor coronatorum*; 9 Nov. *Theodori m*; (152^{v}) 11 Nov. *Martini ep*; Eodem die *Menne m*; (153^{r}) 13 Nov. *Bric-tii ep*; 22 Nov. *Cecilie v*; (153^{v}) 23 Nov. *Clementis ep et m*; *Felicitatis*; (154^{r}) 24 Nov. *Grisochoni*; 29 Nov. *Saturnini*; *Vig*; (154^{v}) 30 Nov. *In festiuitate s Andree*; (155^{r}) 6 Dec. *Nicolai ep*; 7 Dec. *Oct. s Andree*; 11 Dec. *Damasi pp*; (155^{v}) 13 Dec. *Lucie*; (156^{r}) 21 Dec. *Thome ap.*

8. (f. 156^{r}-158^{r}) Commune sanctorum
(156^{r}) In vig unius ap. Or. *Quesumus omnipotens deus ut beatus .N. apostolum tuum pro nobis imploret auxilium...* - (158^{r}) [In nat plurimorum vv.] Postcom. *Satiasti domine familiam tuam muneribus sacris, eius quesumus interuentione nos refoue cuius sollempnia celebramus.*
(156^{r}) In nat unius ap; Plurimorum app; (156^{v}) In vig unius m; In nat unius m; In vig plurimorum mm; (157^{r}) In nat unius cf; In nat unius cf non pont; Plurimorum cff; (157^{v}) In nat unius v; In nat plurimorum vv.

9. (f. 158^{r}-159^{r}) In dedicatione ecclesiae
(158^{r}) In anniuersario dedicationis ecclesie. *Terribilis est locus iste...*; Ps. *Dominus regnauit...*; Or. *Deus qui nobis per singulos annos huius s templi*

tui... - (158^v) [In consecratione ecclesie.] Postcom. *Copiosa beneficia quesumus domine christianus populus assequatur...sempiternam inueniat.*

10. (f. 159^r) In festiuitate ciuitatis s Hierusalem
(159^r) Or. *Omnipotens deus, qui virtute tua mirabili Hierusalem ciuitatem tuam de manu paganorum eruisti et christianis reddidisti, adesto quesumus nobis propitius et concede, ut, qui hanc sollempnitatem annua recolimus deuotione, ad superne Hierusalem gaudia peruenire mereamur. Per.* Secr. *Hanc domine quesumus hostiam...*; Postcom. *Quod sumpsimus domine sacrificium...hereditari mereamur. Per.*

11. (f. 159^r-170^r) Missae votivae
(159^r) Missa de Trinitate. Require in oct Pentecosten. Missa in honore s Crucis. Or. *Deus qui unigeniti filii tui pretioso sanguine...* - (170^r) [Missa in nuptiis.] Postcom. *Quesumus omnipotens deus instituta prouidentie tue pio amore comitare ut quos legitima societate conectis longeua pace custodias. Per.*
(159^v) In comm s Marie; In honore s Michaelis arch; (160^r) Ss patriarcharum Abraham Ysaac et Iacob; De sapientia; (160^v) De caritate; Ad postulandam gratiam spiritus sancti; In suffragia sanctorum; (161^v) Missa specialis sacerdotis; (162^r) In ordinatione presbiteri; (162^v) Pro petitione lacrimarum; Pro temptatione carnis; Pro peccatis; (163^r) Pro captiuis; In remissione peccatorum; (163^v) Missa s Marie pro congregatione; Pro quolibet amico; (164^r) Pro amico in tribulatione posito; Pro salute viuorum; (164^v) Pro familiaribus; Pro abbate vel congregatione; (165^r) Pro pontifice; Pro rege; (165^v) Pro iter agentibus; Pro nauigantibus; Contra paganos; (166^r) Pro inimicis; Pro pace; (166^v) Pro quacumque tribulatione; Ad pluuiam postulandam; Pro serenitate; Pro salute viuorum; (167^v) Missa communis; (168^r) Missa generalis; (168^v) Pro mortalitate; Pro penitentibus; (169^r) In tempore belli; Pro infirmis; (169^v) In nuptiis.

12. (f. 170^r-190^v) Missae pro defunctis
(170^r) Missa in die depositione defuncti. Or. *Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere...* - (190^v) [Commendatio anime. Oretur pro anima defuncti et pro cunctis ibidem quiescentibus.] *Deus fons bonitatis...Et benedictio dei patris omnipotentis et filii et spiritus sancti descendat super hoc sepulchrum et super hoc corpus in eo collocatum.*
(170^v) In die vii.xxx.c.; (171^r) In anniuersario; Pro defuncto sacerdote; Pro episcopo defuncto; (171^v) Pro fideli defuncto; In nat ss pro agenda mortuorum; (172^r) Pro fideli laico; Pro fidelibus defunctis; (172^v) Pro puero mortuo nuper baptizato; Pro desiderantibus penitentia; Pro femina defuncta; (173^r) Pro sacerdotibus; Pro

defunctis fratribus; (173^v) In cimiteriis; Pro patre et matre; Pro plurimorum defunctorum; (174^r) Or. ad patrem. *Omnipotens pater qui propter nimiam rationabilemque dilectionem...*; Or. ad filium. *Unigenite I.C. fili dei viui quem valet digne laudare...*; (174^v) Or. ad spiritum sanctum. *O sancte spiritus qui uterum intemerate virginis Marie...*; (175^r) Or. s Augustini ad celebrationem misse. *Si ante oculos tuos domine culpas...*; (175^v) Or. s Augustini. *Summe sacerdos et vere pontifex...*; (178^r) Or. s Ambrosii. *Ignosce domine quod dum rogare compellor...*; (180^v) Exorcismus salis; Exorcismus aque; (181^v) Incipit ordo ad visitandum infirmum; Letania. *Kyrie eleyson...Johannes Baptista, Petre, Paule, Andrea, Johannes, Jacobe* (Apostoli et Evangelistae); *Stephane, Laurenti, Vincenti, Ypolite, Pantaleon, Plate, Georgi* (Martyres); *Siluester, Leo, Ylari, Martine, Gregori, Germane, Basili, Augustine* (Confessores); *Maria Magdalena, Agnes, Agatha, Fides, Cecilia, Iustina, Eufemia, Fausta* (Virgines).
(182^r) *...Ut remissionem peccatorum...*; *Ut sanitatem mentis...*; *Ut gratiam sancti spiritus...*; *Ut bonam perseuerantiam...*; (184^v) Commendatio anime.

13. (f. 191^r-212^r) Prosae
(191^r) [Dominica I de aduentu.] *Salus eterna indeficiens mundi vita...* - (212^r) [In festiuitate omnium ss.] *Christo inclita candida nostra canunt melodia...regina virginum pre||* (*RH* 3152; *AH* 53 no.115).
(191^v) Dominica secunda de aduentu; (192^r) In nat domini in galli cantu; (194^r) De s Stephano; (194^v) De s Iohanne ev; (195^r) Ss Innocentum; (196^r) De Circumcisione domini; (197^r) In Epiphania domini; (197^v) Vincentii; (198^v) In Annuntiatione BMV; (199^r) In Resurrectione domini; (201^r) In Ascensione domini; (202^r) In Pentecosten; (203^r) De s Trinitate; (204^r) De s Iohanne Baptista; (204^v) De Petro ap; (205^v) In festiuitate s Marie Magdalene; (206^r) De Iacobo ap; (206^v) De Laurentio; (207^r) In Assumptione BMV; (208^v) De s Augustino; (209^v) In nat BMV; (210^v) De s Cruce; (211^r) De Exaltatione s Crucis; De s Michaele arch; (212^r) In festiuitate omnium ss.

14. (f. 213^r) Additio, 12th c.
a. (213^r) In vig s Achatii sociorumque eius. *Loquetur dominus.* Ps. *Benedixisti...*;
b. (213^v) In nat s Marie Magdalene. *O.s.d. qui unigenitum tuum post resurrectionem suam...* - Postcom. *Sumpto domine unico ac salutari remedio corpore scilicet et precioso ||*

A pointed hand, more typical of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre in the second half of the 12th c., 23 long lines in brown ink. Rubrication and initials are supplied in red with penwork decoration similar to HS^5.

213 f. Parchment. Brown ink. 258 × 165 mm (185 × 115 mm), 29 long lines written above top line (f. 26^r). Collation: 1^{8+2} $2\text{-}8^8$ $9^{2||}$ (6 paper leaves) $10\text{-}12^8$ 13^{10-1} (wants 9 but no text missing) $14\text{-}25^8$ + i. f. 11^r blank. Hair side out. Pricking visible. Ruling with dry point. Catchwords almost always visible in the lower right-hand corner of the versos. Guide-letters for decoration in red, by the rubricator, visible. 2° folio: « Mense nume in medio ». Norman minuscule, typical of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre in the first half of the twelfth century, Western hand. Music on four-line red staves; see *Graduel Romain,* II p. 120; *Paléographie musicale*, ed. Bénédictins de Solesmes, Solesmes, 1889-, II pl. 43; M. HUGLO, Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés, in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. RUHNKE, Kassel, 1967, p. 121-33, at 130. Buchthal–Wormald date *c.*1140; Boase and Folda *c.*1130.
DECORATION: 31 ornamental initials; see BUCHTHAL pl. 25a,c,d,f,g,i, 26a,b,d,e, 27a,b,d,g,h, 28a, 29a,b,d, 30b,d,f,h, 31b,h, 32b. Other initials are supplied in red or blue, sometimes in burgundy.
MS ANNOTATIONS: On a cutting pasted onto front endleaf a note from the librarian Domenico Gnoli (1838-1915; *DBI* LVII p. 454-8), dated 1914: « È stata tagliata la lettera iniziale al f. 145^v. Il bibliotecario D. Gnoli, 27 Feb. 1914, e una parte non scritta del f. 184 ».
BINDING: Twentieth-century parchment. « Messale, sec. XII » gold-tooled at head of the spine. Restored in 1938; label pasted onto rear pastedown and stamp of « Legatoria L. Lauri Roma, 10, via S. Ignazio ». 270 × 175 × 55 mm.
ORIGIN: Jerusalem, scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
PROVENANCE: Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
OWNERSHIP: Rome, Augustinian Hermits, S. Augustinus; see D. GUTIÉRREZ, De antiquis ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini bibliothecis, in *Analecta Augustiniana*, 23, 1954, p. 164-372; La biblioteca del convento di S. Agostino di Roma nel sec. XV, in *Analecta Augustiniana*, 27, 1964, p. 5-58; 28, 1965, p. 57-153 (includes a transcription of two fifteenth-century inventories). Rome, Biblioteca Angelica; stamps on f. 1^r and 213^v; see E. CELANI, La biblioteca Angelica (1605-1873), in *La Bibliofilia*, 13, 1911, p. 1-8; 14, 1911, p. 41-58; P. MUNAFÒ and N. MURATORE, *La biblioteca Angelica*, Rome, 1989; L. BORGHETTI MARZULLI, I cataloghi storici della Biblioteca Angelica, in *Il Linguaggio della biblioteca. Scritti in onore di Diego Maltese*, ed. M. GUERRINI, 2 vols, Florence, 1994-5, I p. 157-68.
OLD SHELFMARK: « D-7-3 Missale saec. XVI » on a parchment label pasted onto front endleaf. « D. 7. 3. » in the upper margin of f. 1^r.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. NARDUCCI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Angelica olim coenobii S. Augustini de Urbe*, Rome, 1893, p. 213 no. 477; EBNER p. 134-6; BUCHTHAL p. 14-23, 107-21, 140 no. 2; T. S. R. BOASE, *Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusades*, London, 1971, p. 98; R. AMIET, Inventaire des manuscrits liturgiques conservés dans les bibliothèques et les

archives de Rome, in *Scriptorium*, 39, 1985, p. 109-18, at 112; S. R. MAROSSZÉKI, *Les origines du chant cistercien*, Rome, 1952 (Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 8), pl. VI (list of Alleluia verses); E. B. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, 4 vols, Florence, 1953-64; repr. London, 1993, III p. 302-4, 306-8; L. M. J. DELAISSÉ, La miniature du royaume Latin de Jérusalem, in *Scriptorium*, 16, 1962, p. 348-52; M. DYKMANS, Les obituaires romains. Une définition suivie d'une vue d'ensemble, in *Studi Medievali*, 19, 2, 1978, p. 591-652, at 640; FOLDA, *I manoscritti miniati*, p. 299; MINERVINI p. 85.

HS²

SACRAMENTARIUM (f. 70-83), *1128-30*

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. McClean 49
Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre)

1. (1[70]^r- 3[72]^v) Praefatia
(1[70]^r) Praephatio in Annuntiatione s Marie. *Vere Dignum eterne deus et te in Annuntiatione b Marie semper v exultantibus animis collaudare benedicere et predicare. Que et unigenitum tuum sancti spiritus obumbratione concepit et virginitatis gloria permanente huic mundo lumen eternum effudit eundem I.C. dominum nostrum. Per quem.* - (3[72]^v) [Or. s Ambrosii ep.] *Conscientia culpabilis vite...*
(1[70]^r) In nat domini; In galli cantu; In Epiphania domini; (1[70]^v) In quadragesima; In cena domini; In sabbato sancto; (2[71]^r) In Resurrectione domini; De s Cruce; In Ascensione domini; In vig Pentecostes; (2[71]^v) Dominica s Pentecosten; De s Trinitate; De ss app; (3[72]^r) In Assumptione s Marie; In nat s Marie; De comm saluatoris; (3[72]^v) Confessio coram altari dicenda. *Suscipe confessionem...*; (3[72]^v) Or. s Ambrosii ep.

Remarks: In the Prefaces the rubric *Infra actionem* is written throughout *In fractione*.

2. (4[73]^r-11[80]^v) Canon Missae
(4[73]^r) *Per omnia secula seculorum amen, dominus vobiscum et cum spiritu tuo...*; (4[73]^v) *Vere Dignum et iustum est equum...*; (5[74]^r) *Per quem maiestatem tuam...*; (6[75]^r) *Et ideo cum...*; (6[75]^v) *Quem laudant angeli...*; (7[76]^r) *Te igitur clementissime pater per Ihesum... papa nostro H et antistite nostro H nec non et rege nostro H et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholice* (7[76]^v) *et apostolice fidei cultoribus. Memento...*; *Communicantes...Maria, I.C., Petri, Pauli, Andree, Iacobi, Iohannis, Thome, Iacobi, Philippi, Bartholomei, Mathei, Symonis et Taddei, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Grisochoni, Iohannis et*

Pauli, Cosme et Damiani. (8[77]v) *Nobis quoque peccatoribus... Iohanne, Stephano, Mathia,* (9[78]r) *Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cecilia, Anastasia, Eulalia, Katerina...*; *Pater Noster...*; *Libera nos...Maria, Petro et Paulo atque Andrea...*; (9[78]v) Quando mittit sancta in calicem...; Or. antequam communicet dicat...; Alia...; Alia.

3. (10[79]v-14[83]v) Proprium de tempore

(10[79]v) In sabbato sancto; *Kyrie eleyson...*; *Gloria...*; - (14[83]v) [Feria V.] Secreta. *Suscipe quesumus domine munera populorum tuorum propitius ut confessione tui nominis et baptismate renovati sempiternam beatitudinem consequantur. Per.* Com. | |

(11[80]r) Agnus dei. *Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem...*; (11[80]v) In die s Pasche. *Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum...*; (12[81]r) Postcom. Ad processionem. R. *Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum...*; (12[81]v) In redeundo R. *Christus resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur mors illi ultra non dominabitur quod enim vivit vivit deo.* Alleluia V. *Dicant nunc Iudei quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem quare non servabant petram iustitie aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes. Q. d.* V. *Surrexit dominus.*

Feria II; (13[82]r) Feria III; (13[82]v) Feria IIII; (14[83]v) Feria V.

REMARKS: f. 70-83 only, containing the Prefaces and Canon of the Mass; the rest of the sacramentary is in Rome, Bibl. Angelica, ms. 477; see above HS[1].

BINDING: Modern purple morocco, by Joseph William Zaehnsdorf (1853-1930) of London.

OWNERSHIP: Frank McClean (1837-1904); ex-libris. Purchased by McClean in Rome in 1892; see biographical note by H. F. Newall in JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. xi-xvii and *DNB*. Bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1904.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 97-9; W. H. FRERE, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica: a Descriptive Handlist of the Musical and Latin Liturgical Manuscripts of the Middle-Ages Preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols, London and Burnham, Bucks., 1901-30, no. 1014; BUCHTHAL p. 15, 45, 47, 135, 140-1 no. 3; J. FOLDA, Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1291, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. SETTON, 6 vols, Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969-89, IV p. 251-80; P. R. ROBINSON, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 70 n. 216.

HS[3]

SACRAMENTARIUM, *1128-30*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12056

Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre)

1. (f. 1r-8r) Calendarium

(1r) *Iani prima dies et septima fine timetur...* (SCHALLER, *Initia*, no. 7597).

Remarks: 13 Jan. *Ylarii et Remigi*; 24 Jan. *Timothei*; 27 Jan. *Cenomannis Iuliani ep*; 30 Jan. *Iherusalem Mathie ep*; 1 Feb. *Ignacii*; 18 Feb. *Iherusalem Symeonis ep*; 28 Feb. *Reconditio s Augustini*; 1 Mar. *Andegauis Albini ep*; 11 Mar. *Quadraginta mm*; 18 Mar. *Iherusalem Alexandri ep*; 1 May *Florentii cf*; 2 May *Alexandrie Athanasii ep*; 4 May *Iherusalem Quiriaci ep*; 22 June *Paulini ep et cf*; 1 July *Oct s Iohannis Baptiste*; 15 July *Festiuitas Iherusalem quando fuit capta a Francis*; 31 July *Germani ep et cf*; 23 Aug. *Iherusalem Zachei ep*; 27 Aug. *Vig*; 28 Aug. *Augustini ep*; 1 Sept. *Egidii ab*; 4 Sept. *Oct s Augustini patris nostri Yponensis ep*; 13 Sept. *Andegauis Maurilii ep et cf*; 25 Sept. *In castro Emaus Cleophe disc domini*; 1 Oct. *Germani Remigi et Vedasti*; 2 Oct. *Leodegarii ep*; 6 Oct. *Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob*; 11 Oct. *Transl Augustini ep*; 22 Oct. *Iherusalem Marci ep*; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani*; 29 Oct. *Iherusalem Narcissi ep et cf*; 18 Nov. *Oct Martini ep*; 25 Nov. *Petri Alexandrini ep et cf*; 5 Dec. *Ierosolimis Sabe ab*; 17 Dec. *Lazare quem suscitauit dominus a mortuis.*

Calendar of the Holy Sepulchre; see full text in Appendix.

2. (f. 9r-63r) Evangelia, different contemporary hand

(9r) Dominica I de aduentu. Inicium s euangeli secundum Marcum. *Principium euuangeli I.C. filii dei sicut scriptum est in Ysaia propheta. Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam...* - (63v) [Ad sponsos benedicendos. Secundum Matheum.] *I.i.t. venit Ihesus in fines Iudee Transiordanen...homo non separet.*

(15r) In die natalis; (22v) In Purificatione BMV; (25r) In Inuentione s Crucis; (27v) In die s Pentecosten; (28v) In die s Iohannis Baptiste; (31v) In liberatione Ierusalem; (35v) In Assumptione BMV; (36v) In Decollatione s Iohannis Baptiste; (38r) In Exaltatione s Crucis; (42r) In die omnium ss; (49r) In vig app; (59r) In anniuersario dedicationis ecclesie; (60r) De s Trinitate; (60v) De Angelis; De Cruce; (61v) De s Maria; (62r) Pro peccatis; (62v) De sapientia; De karitate; (63r) Ad sponsos benedicendos.

Gospel readings for the temporal, the sanctoral, the common of saints, and votive masses.

3. (f. 64^{r}-155^{r}) Proprium de tempore

(64^{r}) In vig nat domini nostri I.C. Missa. *Deus qui nos redemptionis nostre annua expectatione letificas...* - (155^{r}) [Dominica IIII de aduentu.] Alia. *Mentes nostras quesumus domine lumine tue visitationis illustra...aduersa securi. Qui viuis.*

(66^{r}) In nat domini; (73^{r}) In septuagesima; (73^{v}) In sexagesima; (74^{r}) In quinquagesima; Exorcismus cinerum; (77^{v}) Dominca I in quadragesima; (91^{v}) Dominica in passione domini; (95^{r}) Bn in ramis palmarum; (99^{r}) Feria V in tena (*sic*) domini; (100^{r}) Feria VI; Ordo hora nona procedit; (104^{v}) Sabbato sancto; Bn ignis noui; (105^{r}) Bn cerei; (111^{v}) Bn fontis; (118^{r}) In comm saluatoris. Missa; (121^{v}) Dominica in Pascha; (131^{r}) In vig Ascensionis domini; (135^{v}) Dominica s Pentecosten; (139^{r}) Dominica I post oct Pentecostes (No Alleluia verses); (150^{v}) Dominica XXIIII; (151^{r}) Dominica prima de aduentu domini; (154^{r}) Dominica IIII de aduentu.

Prayers for the masses only.

4. (f. 155^{r}-243^{v}) Proprium de sanctis

(155^{r}) In nat s Siluestri. *Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut b Siluestri cf tui...* - (243^{v}) [Thome ap.] Postcom. *Conserua domine populum tuum...tribue gaudere remediis. Per dominum.*

(155^{v}) 13 Jan. *Remigi atque Hylarii*; (156^{r}) 14 Jan. *Felicis*; (156^{v}) 16 Jan. *Marcelli m*; (157^{r}) 18 Jan. *Prisce v*; (157^{v}) 20 Jan. *Fabiani et Sebastiani*; (158^{v}) 21 Jan. *Agnetis m*; (159^{r}) 22 Jan. *Vincentii*; (159^{v}) 25 Jan. *Conuersio s Pauli*; (160^{r}) *Preiecti m*; (160^{v}) 28 Jan. *Agnetis II*; (161^{r}) Bn cereorum; 2 Feb. *In Purificatione BMV*; (164^{r}) 5 Feb. *Agathe*; (165^{r}) 14 Feb. *Valentini*; (165^{v}) 22 Feb. *Cathedra s Petri*; (166^{r}) 24 Feb. *Mathie ap*; (166^{v}) 12 Mar. *Gregorii pp*; (167^{r}) 21 Mar. *Depositio s Benedicti ab*; (167^{v}) 25 Mar. *In Annuntiatione BMV.*

5. (f. 168^{r}-179) Canon missae

(168^{r}) [Prefatio communis.] *Per omnia secula seculorum amen. Dominus vobiscum...*; (168^{v}) *Vere dignum et iustum est...*; (171^{v}) *Te igitur...una cum famulo tuo papa nostro .N. et antistite nostro .N. necnon et rege nostro .N. et omnibus...*; (171^{v}) *Memento domine...et omnium circumstantium atque omnium fidelium christianorum quorum...*; (172^{r}) *Communicantes...Petri, Pauli, Andree, Iacobi, Iohannis, Thome, Iacobi, Philippi, Bartholomei, Mathei, Symonis et Taddei, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sisti, Cornelii, Cipriani, Laurenti, Grisogoni, Iohannis et Pauli, Cosme et Damiani...*; (174^{v}) *Nobis quoque...Iohanne, Stephano, Mathia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cecilia, Anastasia...*; (175^{v}) *Pater noster.*

Some 'Amen' at the end of prayers.

6. (f. 180^{r}-243^{v}) Proprium de sanctis (cont.)

(180^{r}) 30 June *Marcialis*; (180^{v}) 28 Aug. *Iuliani* (of Brioude); (185^{v}) 6 Aug. *Missa de transfiguratione domini*; (188^{r}) 4 Apr. *Ambrosii cf*; 14 Apr. *Tiburtii Valeriani et Maximi*; (188^{v}) 23 Apr. *Georgii m*; (189^{r}) 25 Apr. *Marci ev*; (189^{v}) 28 Apr. *Vitalis*; (190^{r}) 1 May *Philippi et Iacobi*; (190^{v}) 3 May *Alexandri Euentii et Theodoli*; (191^{r}) *Inuentio s Crucis*; (191^{v}) 6 May *Iohannis ante portam latinam*; (192^{r}) 10 May *Gordiani atque Epimachi*; (192^{v}) 12 May *Pancratii*; (193^{r}) *Nerei et Achillei*; 13 May *Marie ad martyres*; (193^{v}) 25 May *Urbani m*; (194^{r}) 1 June *Nicomedis m*; (194^{v}) 2 June *Marcelli[ni] et Petri*; (195^{r}) 9 June *Primi et Feliciani*; (195^{v}) 11 June *Barnabe*; (196^{r}) 12 June *Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Nazarii*; (196^{v}) 15 June *Viti et Modesti et Crescentie*; (197^{r}) 16 June *Cirici et Iulite*; (197^{v}) 18 June *Marci et Marcelliani*; (198^{r}) 19 June *Geruasii et Prothasii*; (199^{v}) 24 June *Iohannis Baptiste*; (200^{r}) 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli*; (200^{v}) 28 June *Leonis pp*; (201^{r}) *Vig s Petri*; 29 June *Petri et Pauli*; (201^{v}) 30 June *Pauli*; (202^{r}) 2 July *Processi et Martiniani*; (202^{v}) 6 July *Octaba Petri et Pauli*; (203^{r}) 10 July *VII fratrum*; (203^{v}) 11 July *Depositio s Benedicti ab*; (204^{r}) 21 July *Praxedis v*; (204^{v}) 22 July *Marie Magdalene*; (205^{r}) 23 July *Apollinaris*; (205^{v}) 25 July *Iacobi ap*; (206^{r}) 29 July *Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis*; *Felicis*; (207^{r}) 30 July *Abdon et Sennem*; (207^{v}) 1 Aug. *Petri ad vincula*; (208^{r}) *Machabeorum et Eusebii*; (208^{v}) 2 Aug. *Stephani pp*; (209^{r}) 3 Aug. *Inuentio s Stephani et al*; (209^{v}) 6 Aug. *Sixti*; (210^{r}) Bn vue noue; (210^{v}) *Felicissimi et Agapiti*; (211^{r}) 7 Aug. *Donati m et ep*; (211^{v}) 8 Aug. *Ciriaci Largi et Smaragdi*; (212^{r}) 9 Aug. *Vig Laurentii*; (212^{v}) 11 Aug. *Tyburtii*; (213^{r}) 13 Aug. *Ypoliti*; (213^{v}) 14 Aug. *Eusebii cf*; (214^{r}) *Vig Assumptionis BMV*; (214^{v}) 15 Aug. *In Assumptione BMV*; (215^{v}) Prefacio (Add: written on erasure in a later, western hand, black ink:) [Vere dignum] *Eterne deus. Et te in veneratione sacrarum virginum exultantibus animis laudare benedicere et predicare...lumen eternum effudit I.C. dominum nostrum. Per.* (215^{v}) 17 Aug. *Oct s Laurentii*; (216^{v}) 18 Aug. *Agapiti*; 19 Aug. *Magni m*; (217^{r}) 22 Aug. *Oct BMV*; (217^{v}) *Timothei et Simphoriani*; (218^{r}) 24 Aug. *Bartholomei*; (218^{v}) 27 Aug. *Rufi*; (219^{r}) 28 Aug. *Augustini*; (219^{v}) *Hermetis Pelagi et Iuliani*; (220^{r}) 29 Aug. *Decollatio s Iohannis Baptiste*; (220^{v}) *Sabine*; (221^{r}) 30 Aug. *Felicis et Adaucti*; (221^{v}) 1 Sept. *Prisci m*; (222^{r}) 8 Sept. *Nat BMV*; (222^{v}) *Adriani*; (223^{r}) 9 Sept. *Gorgonii*; (223^{v}) 11 Sept. *Proti et Iacincti*; (224^{r}) 14 Sept. *Exaltationis s Crucis*; (224^{v}) *Cornelii et Cipriani*; (225^{r}) 15 Sept. *Nicomedis*; (225^{v}) 16 Sept. *Lucie et Geminiani*; (226^{r}) *Eufemie*; (226^{v}) 21 Sept. *Mathei ap*; (227^{r}) 22

Sept. *Mauritii et soc*; (228^{r}) 27 Sept. *Cosme et Damiani*; (228^{v}) 29 Sept. *Michaelis arch*; (229^{r}) 30 Sept. *Ieronimi*; (229^{v}) 1 Oct. *Remigi Germani et Vedasti*; (230^{r}) 2 Oct. *Leodegarii*; (230^{v}) 7 Oct. *Marci pp et ss Marci et Apulei*; (231^{v}) 9 Oct. *Dionisii Rustici et Eleuterii*; (232^{r}) 14 Oct. *Calixti*; (232^{v}) 18 Oct. *Luce ev*; (233^{r}) 28 Oct. *Symonis et Iude*; (234^{v}) 1 Nov. *In festiuitate omnium ss*; (235^{r}) *Cesarii*; (235^{v}) 8 Nov. *Quattuor coronatorum*; (236^{r}) 9 Nov. *Theodori*; (236^{v}) 11 Nov. *Martini ep*; (237^{r}) *Menne*; 13 Nov. *Brictii ep*; (237^{v}) 22 Nov. *Cecilie*; (238^{r}) 23 Nov. *Clementis pp*; (238^{v}) *Felicitatis*; (239^{r}) 24 Nov. *Grisogoni*; (239^{v}) 29 Nov. *Saturnini*; *Vig s Andree*; (240^{r}) 30 Nov. *Andree*; (241^{r}) 6 Dec. *Nicholai ep*; (241^{v}) 7 Dec. *Oct s Andree*; 11 Dec. *Damasi pp*; (242^{v}) 13 Dec. *Lucie*; (243^{r}) 21 Dec. *Thome ap.*

7. (f. 243^{v}-248^{v}) Commune sanctorum
(243^{v}) In vig unius ap. Or. *Quesumus omnipotens deus ut beatus ill. apostolus...* - (248^{v}) [In nat plurimorum vv.] Postcom. *Saciasti domine familiam tuam muneribus sacris...sollempnia celebramus.*
(243^{v}) In nat unius ap; In nat plurimorum app; (244^{r}) In vig unius m; (245^{r}) In vig plurimorum mm; In nat plurimorum mm; (245^{v}) In nat plurimorum cff; (246^{r}) In nat unius cf non pont; (246^{v}) In nat plurimorum cff; (247^{r}) In nat unius v; (247^{v}) In nat vv et mm; (248^{r}) In nat plurimorum vv.

8. (f. 248^{v}- 250^{v}) Missae in dedicatione ecclesiae
(248^{v}) Missa in anniuersario ecclesie. *Deus qui nobis per singulos annos huius sancti templi...* - (250^{r}) [Missa in consecratione ecclesie.] Postcom. *Copiosa beneficia quesumus domine christianus populus assequatur...sempiternam inueniat.*
(248^{v}) Missa in anniuersario ecclesie. *Deus qui nobis per singulos annos huius sancti templi...*; Secr. *Annue quesumus domine precibus nostris ut quicumque intra templi...*; Postcom. *Deus qui ecclesiam tuam sponsam vocare dignatus es...* (The text is crossed out and the following note has been added in a contemporary hand: «require in ultimo folio. *Multiplica domine*»; see f. 328^{v}); (249^{v}) Missa in consecratione ecclesie. *Deus qui sacrandorum tibi auctor es munerum...*; Secr. *Omnipotens deus qui legalium differentiam hostiarum...*; (250^{r}) Postcom.

9. (f. 250^{r-v}) Missa de Ierusalem
(250^{r}) Missa de Ierusalem. *Omnipotens deus qui virtute tua mirabili Ierusalem civitatem tuam de manu paganorum eruisti, et christianis reddidisti, adesto quesumus nobis propitius et concede ut qui hanc sollennitatem annua* | (250^{v}) *recolimus devotione, ad superne Ierusalem gaudia pervenire mereamur. Per dominum.* Secr. *Hanc domine quesumus hostiam*

quam tibi supplices offerimus dignanter suscipe et eius misterio nos dignos effice ut qui de Ierusalem civitate de manu paganorum eruta hunc diem agimus celebrem celestis Ierusalem concives fieri tandem mereamur. Per. Postcom. *Quod sumpsimus domine sacrificium ad corporis et anime nobis proficiat salutem, ut qui de civitatis tue Ierusalem libertate gaudemus in celesti Ierusalem hereditari mereamur. Per.*

10. (f. 251^{r}-301^{r}) Missae votivae, diversae, et pro defunctis
(251^{r}) Missa de s Trinitate. Collecta. *O.s.d. qui dedisti famulis tuis in confessione...* - (301^{v}) [Exorcismus aque.] Or. ante portam. *O.s.d. edificator et custos Ierusalem...sit domicilium incolumitatis et pacis. Per.*
(252^{r}) In honore s Crucis; (252^{v}) In honore s Marie; (253^{v}) In honore s Michahelis; (254^{r}) De s sapientia; (254^{v}) De caritate; (255^{r}) Ad postulandam gratiam spiritus sancti; (256^{v}) In suffragio ss; (257^{r}) Missa specialis sacerdotis; (259^{r}) In ordinatione presb; (259^{v}) Pro peticione lacrimarum; (260^{v}) Pro temptatione carnis; (261^{r}) In remissione peccatorum; (261^{v}) Missa s Marie pro congregatione; (262^{r}) Pro qualibet amico; (263^{r}) Pro amico in tribulatione posito; (263^{v}) Pro salute viuorum; (264^{v}) Pro familiaribus; (265^{r}) Pro abbate vel congregatione; (265^{v}) Pro pontifice; (266^{r}) Pro rege; (266^{v}) Pro iter agentibus; (267^{v}) Pro nauigantibus; (268^{r}) Contra paganos; (268^{v}) Pro inimicis; (269^{r}) Pro pace; (269^{v}) Pro quacumque tribulatione; (270^{r}) Ad pluuiam; Ad poscendam serenitatem; (271^{r}) Pro salute viuorum et requie defunctorum; (273^{r}) Missa comunis; (274^{r}) Missa generalis; (275^{v}) Pro mortalitate; (276^{r}) Pro penitentibus; (276^{v}) In tempore belli; (277^{r}) Pro infirmis; (277^{v}) Missa in nuptiis; (279^{v}) In die depositionis defuncti; (281^{r}) In die VII; (281^{v}) In anniuersario; (282^{r}) Pro defuncto sacerdote; (282^{v}) Pro defuncto ep; (283^{r}) Pro defuncto fideli; (283^{v}) In nat ss pro agenda mortuorum; (284^{r}) Pro fideli laico; (285^{r}) Pro fidelibus \defunctorum/; (285^{v}) Pro puero mortuo \nuper baptizato/; (286^{r}) Pro femina defuncta; (287^{r}) Pro sacerdotibus; (287^{v}) Pro defunctis fratribus; (288^{r}) In cimiteriis; (289^{r}) Pro patre et matre; (289^{v}) Plurimorum defunctorum; (293^{v}) Pro peccatis; (294^{r}) Pro captiuis; (298^{r}) Ss. Patriarcharum Abraham Ysaac et Iacob. *Deus qui nos voluisti exemplis patriarcharum tuorum Abraham Isaac et Iacob erudiri, da nobis ipsis intercedentibus eorum documenta in omnibus sequi quatinus illorum meritis mereamur pervenire, quo illi gratia tua se pervenisse letantur. Per.* Secr. *Sanctificationis omnis sanctificator deus, oblata et offerentes sanctifica ob merita ss patriarcharum Abrahe Isaac et Iacob offerentibusque concede sic oblata sumere sanctifi-*

cata ut per hanc perceptionem sint tibi accepti. Per. Postcom. *Perceptio corporis et sanguinis domini nostri I.C. commemoratione ss patriarcharum A. I. et I. obtineat ut sit sumentibus ad remissionem peccatorum et ad consequendam celestis vite perpetuitatem. Per.* (299^{r}) Exorcismus salis; (299^{v}) Exorcismus aque.

11. (f. 301^{v}) Ordo ad visitandum infirmum
(301^{v}) Incipit ordo ad visitandum infirmum, quando ingreditur sacerdos domum dicat. *Pax huic domui...*- (327^{r}) [Missa in anniuersario.] Postcom. *Suscipe domine preces nostras pro anima...misericordia deleantur. Per.*
(302^{r}) [Litaniae sanctorum.] *Kyrrieleison...Iohannes Baptista, Petre, Paule, Andrea, Iohannes, Iacobe, Stephane, Laurenti, Vincenti, Ypolite, Pantaleon, Piate, Georgi* (Martyres); *Silvester, Leo, Ylari, Martine, Gregori, Germane, Basili, Augustine* (Confessores); *M. Magdalena, Agnes, Agatha, Fides, Cecilia, Iustina, Eufemia, Fausta* (Virgines).
(303^{r}) ...*Ut remissionem peccatorum ei dones...*; *Ut sanitatem mentis...*; *Ut gratiam sancti spiritus...*; *Ut bona perseuerantiam...*; (309^{v}) Commendatio animarum.

12. (f. 328^{v}) Additio, contemporary hand
(328^{v}) *Multiplica domine quesumus per hec sancte que sumpsimus veritatem tuam in animabus nostris ut te in templo sancto iugiter adoremus et in conspectu tuo cum sanctis angelis gloriemur. Per.* Postcom. *Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus ut quos tuis reficis sacramentis tibi etiam placitis moribus dignanter deseruire concedas. Per dominum.*

i+328 f. Parchment. Dark brown ink. 287 × 182 mm (192 × 119 mm), 17 long
lines written above top line (f. 64^{r}). Collation: 1^{4-1} (wants 1) 2^{6} $3\text{-}8^{8}$ 9^{8-1} (wants
8) $10\text{-}22^{8}$ 23^{6-1} (wants 4) 24^{8-1} (wants 8) 25^{8-1} (wants 1?) $26\text{-}42^{8}$ 43^{8-2}. Flesh
side out. Ruling with dry point. Double vertical lines and first and last horizon-
tal line up to the margins of the leaf. Roman gathering numbers in the lower
margin of the first folio of each gathering; Armenian gathering numbers in the
lower margin of the last folio. 2° folio: «xvi kl martii Valentini presb». Elon-
gated Norman minuscule, typical of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre.
f. 9-63 different, contemporary, hand: round minuscule, ligher brown ink. 287
× 182 mm (192 × 119 mm), 17 long lines (f. 10^{r}). One leaf missing between
f. 167 and 168, another between f. 170 and 171, probably containing full-page
miniatures of the *Maiestas Domini* and the Crucifixion. Buchthal dates 1140-
49; Folda *c.*1135-40; Minervini, following Folda, soon after 1135.
DECORATION: On f. 1-8 and 64-328 4 large, 35 medium-sized, and numer-
ous small initials are supplied in red, green, or blue, sometimes touched with

yellow wash; on f. 9-63 two- to four-line initials are supplied in red or blue,
sometimes with reserved-white decoration, with blue or red penwork deco-
ration. Other, smaller, initials are supplied in red or blue. Capital strokes in
red; see BUCHTHAL p. 141-2 no. 4; FOLDA, *The Art*, p. 104, 159-62 pl. 6.12a-
k (f. 168^{r} etc.), 527 no. 127, and colour pl. 14 and 15 (f. 121^{v}, 170^{v}).
BINDING: Seventeenth-century calf, with the arms of Pierre Séguier: azure,
on a chevron, or, a sheep statant, argent, in chief two stars of the second; see
J. B. RIETSTAP, *Armorial général*, 2 vols, London, 1965, repr. from 2nd edn,
Gouda, 1884-87, II p. 756. Sections of the older, early-seventeenth-century,
gold-tooled spine are pasted onto the spine; at tail «L.(ouis) M.(achon)»
engraved in gold. 300 × 200 × 77 mm.
ORIGIN: Jerusalem, scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
PROVENANCE: Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
OWNERSHIP: Louis Machon (1603–after 1672), canon from Toul; inscrip-
tion in the right-hand corner of the upper margin of f. 1^{r}: «L. Machon 1639»
and «No. 177» in the lower margin, both in his hand; see L. DELISLE, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale (nationale). Étude sur la formation de ce dépôt*, 3 vols, Paris, 1868-81, II p. 83.
Pierre Séguier (1588-1672), chancellor of France; see *IBF* IV p. 1956; Y. NEXON, La bibliothèque du chancelier Séguier, in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. II. Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime 1530-1789*, ed. C. JOLLY, Paris, 1988, p. 147-55, at 151; probably item no. 237 on f. 105 in the manuscript *Catalogue de tous les manuscrits de M^{r} le Chancelier Seguier avec lestimation faite par M* [***]*eianot. Inventaire des miniatures* (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 11878, f. 95-106^{v}): «Grand Missel avec plusieurs belle miniatures. Fol ecrit sur parchemin et couvert de maroquin delevant, 5 rang. 260». Bequeathed to the duke of Coislin.
Henri Charles du Cambout, duke of Coislin (1664-1732); see *DBF* IX p. 166-7; bishop of Metz from 1697, see GAMS p. 293. Bequeathed to the Mauristes in 1732.
Paris, Saint-Germain des-Prés, Mauristes (eighteenth century); see added paper on f. 1^{r}: «Ex bibl. mss. Coisliniana, olim Segueriana quam illustr. Henricus du Cambout, dux de Coislin, par Francie, episcopus Metensis, ec. Monasterio S.Germani à Pratis legavit. An. M.DCC.XXXII»; see L. DELISLE, Inventaire des Manuscrits de Saint Germain-des-Prés conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 11504-14231 du Fonds latin, in *Extrait de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 6e sér., tomes I, III, IV, Paris, 1868, p. 34; not identified among the manuscripts listed in the library catalogue edited by Dom B. DE MONTFAUCON, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, 2 vols, Paris, 1739, II p. 1041-1143. See also P. and M.-L. BIVER, *Abbayes, monastères et couvents de Paris: des origines à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1970, p. 4-26.
Acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1796, see S. BALAYÉ,

La Bibliothèque Nationale des origines à 1800, Geneva, 1988 (Histoire des idées et critique littéraire, 262), p. 415-16.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BOURQUE II,2 p. 317 no. 388; LEROQUAIS, *Les sacramentaires*, I p. 301-3 no. 151, pl. xxxvi-xxxviii; BUCHTHAL p. 14-23, 141-2 no. 4; C. SAMARAN and R. MARICHAL, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, 7 vols, Paris, 1959-84, III p. 646; B. ZIMMERMAN, Carmes, in *DTC* II/2 p. 1776-92, at 1778; FOLDA, *The Art*, p. 162-3; FOLDA, *I manoscritti miniati*, p. 299; MINERVINI p. 84.

HS[4] **PSALTERIUM**, *c.1135*

London, British Library, ms. Egerton 1139

Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre)

1. (f. 1^{r}-12^{v}) Illustrations
From the New Testament; see below.

2. (f. 13^{r}) Computus
(13^{r}) Regulares ferie Concurrentes Epacte...

3. (f. 13^{v}-19^{r}) Calendarium
Abbreviated martirology, Usuard type, with a saint's name or church feast for each day of the year. Among the entries which are not to be found in Usuard, the English group is predominant; in particular, 7 July *Hedde ep* (bp of Winchester), and 18 July *Transl s Edburge*, may suggest a Winchester origin. 21 Aug. (Add:) *Obiit Baluuinus* (Baldwin II of Le Bourg, King of Jerusalem, † 23 Aug. 1131); 1 Oct. (Add:) *Obiit Emorfia Ierusalem regina* (Morphia of Melitene, † before 1129, wife of Baldwin II); 11 Nov. *Martini ep*, only entry in gold and capital letters beyond those for the apostles and S. Maria; see Francis Wormald's observations in BUCHTHAL 122-3. Full text of the calendar in Appendix.

4. (f. 19^{v}-21^{r}) Computus
(19^{v}) Terminus quarte decime lune sacro sancti Pasce post passionem apostolorum abbati Pachomio reuelatus ab angelo domini hoc modo. *None Aprilis. Norunt quinos...tribus adeptis.* Hic sunt omnes termini septuagesime quadragesime Pasche rogationum... (21^{r})...dubio celebrari.

5. (f. 21^{v}-22^{r}) Orationes ad crucem
(21^{v}) Feria VI. In parasceuen. Ad crucem. *Domine I.C. qui nos per crucis passionem hodierna die a diabolica seruitute liberasti...*; [Orationes s Gregorii.] Alia ad crucem adorandam. *Adoro te domine I.C. ascendente in cruce...*; *Adoro te domine I.C. vulneratum in cruce...*; *Adoro te domine I.C. mortuum et sepultum...*; *Adoro te domine I.C. ad inferna descendentem...*; *Adoro te domine I.C. resurgentem a mortuis...*; *Adoro te domine I.C. saluatorem venturum in iudicio...*; Alia. *Domine I.C. fili dei viui per quinque plagas corporis tui sana quinque sensus corporis mei...digneris perducere. Qui viuis et regnas deus. Tuam crucem adoramus domine, tuamque recolimus passionem, miserere nobis qui dignatus es nasci pati mori et resurgere pro nobis.*

6. (f. 22^{v}) Oratio
(22^{v}) Or. ante psalmos dicenda. *Suscipere digneris omnipotens deus hos psalmos consecratos quos ego indigna peccatrix...*; *Concede domine I.C. ut isti psalmi nobis proficiant ad salutem...*; *Saluator mundi qui viuis et regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum, amen.* In primis dicitur. *Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuuandum me festina. Gloria...*; Alia Or. *Adesto deus unus omnipotens pater et filius...*; Tunc incipiat. *Beatus vir qui non abiit.*

7. (f. 23^{v}-192^{r}) Psalterium
(23^{v}) *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio...* - (192^{r}) [Or. post psalterium dicenda.] *Liberator animarum mundi redemptor I.C. rex immortalis, supplico ego peccatrix...inimicorum tuorum querentium animam meam. Qui viuis et regnas cum.*
(188^{r}) Canticum Zacharie prophete; (188^{v}) Canticum s Marie. *Magnificat anima mea dominum...*; (189^{r}) Canticum s Symeonis. *Nunc dimittis...*; Hymnus angelorum. *Gloria in excelsis deo...*; (189^{v}) Or. dominica. *Pater noster...*; Symbolum apostolorum. *Credo in deum...*; (190^{r}) Fides catholica edita a b Athanasio Alexandrino ep. *Quicumque vult saluus esse...*; (192^{r}) Or. post psalterium dicenda.

8. (f. 192^{v}-197^{r}) Litaniae sanctorum
(192^{v}) *Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson...* - (197^{r}) [Alia Or.] *Deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis...quiete perfrui sempiterna. Per eundem.*
Iohannes Baptista (Patriarchae et Prophetae); *PETRE, Paule, Andrea, IOHANNES, Iacobe, Thoma, Iacobe, Philippe, Bartholomee, Mathee, Symon, Taddee, Mathia, Barnaba, Luca, Marce* (Apostoli, Evangelistae, et Discipuli); *Innocentes, STEPHANE, Line, Clete, Clemens, Sixte, Corneli, Cypriane, Laurenti, Vincenti, Georgi, Dionisi c.s.t., Maurici c.s.t., Eustachi c.s.t., Iohannes, Paule, Cosma, Damiane, Geruasi, Prothasi, Marcelline, Petre, Fabiane, Sebastiane, Christofore, Saturnine, Quintine, Ignati, Alexander, Grisogone, Apollinaris, Theodore, Bonefati, Crispine, Crispiniane, Pantaleon, Quiriace, Tyburti, Valeriane, Ypolite, Marcelle, Albane*

(Martyres) ; *Siluester, Leo, Gregori, Ambrosi, Hylari, Augustine, Remigi, Nicolae, Martine, Marcialis, Iuliane, Germane, Albine, Maurili, Ieronime, Basili, Benedicte, Egidi, Maure, Leonarde, Paule, Antoni, Machari, Arseni, Saba, Pachomi* (Confessores, Monachi et Heremitae) ; *M. Magdalena, Martha, M. Egyptiaca, Felicitas, Perpetua, Anastasia, Agatha, Agnes, Cecilia, Lucia, Margarita, Caterina, Fidis, Scolastica, Tecla, Eufemia, Iuliana, Christina, Petronilla, Praxedis, Susanna, Barbara, Genouefa, Prisca, Columba, Paula, Eustochium, Geretrudis, Sotheris, Iustina, Iulitta, Benedicta, Basilissa, Sapientia, Fides, Spes, Karitas, Brigida, Radegundis, Eulalia* (Virgines et Viduae).
(194^{v}) *Ut pacem et concordiam nobis dones. Ut ecclesiam tuam regere et defensare digneris. Ut domnum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesie in sancta religione conseruare digneris. Ut patriarcham nostrum et omnem plebem sibi commissam in sancta religione conseruare digneris. Te rogamus. Ut regi nostro et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris. Ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes congregationes…* ; *Ut congregationes omnium sanctorum in tuo sancto seruitio…* ; *Ut cunctum populum christianum…* ; *Ut omnibus benefactoribus…* ; (195^{r}) *Ut animas nostras…* ; *Ut fructus terre…* ; *Ut oculos misericordie tue…* ; *Ut obsequium seruitutis nostre…* ; *Ut mentes nostras…* ; *Ut dies et actus nostros…* ; *Ut remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum…* ; *Ut misericordia et pietas tua…* ; *Ut miseria pauperum et captiuorum…* ; *Ut iter famulorum tuorum…* ; *Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis…* ; *Ut nos exaudire digneris. Te rogamus. Agnus dei…*

9. (f. 197^{v}-211^{v}) Orationes
(197^{v}) Or. ad patrem. *Domine deus pater omnipotens qui consubstantialem coeternumque tibi ante omnia secula ineffabiliter filium genuisti…* - (211^{v}) Or. ad omnes sanctos. *Sancti dei omnes qui ab initio seculi usque in presens deo placuistis…sacris meritis. Amen.*
(198^{r}) Ad filium ; Ad spiritum sanctum ; (198^{v}) Ad s Trinitatem ; Or. s Augustini ep ; (201^{v}) Item alia ; (202^{r}) Alia ; (202^{v}) Or. ad s Mariam ; (205^{r}) Alia ; (205^{r}) Or. ad s Michaelem ; (206^{r}) Or. ad s Iohannem Baptistam ; (207^{r}) Or. ad s Petrum ; Or. ad s Paulum ; (207^{v}) Or. ad s Iohannem ev ; (208^{r}) Or. ad s Stephanum ; (208^{v}) Or. ad ss martyres ; (209^{r}) Or. ad s Nicholaum ; (209^{v}) Or. ad s Martinum ; (210^{r}) Or. ad s Mariam Magdalenam ; (211^{r}) Or. ad s Agnetem ; Or. ad omnes sanctos.
For the identification of the pieces see Buchthal 132-4.

10. (f. 212^{r}-218^{r}) Officium defunctorum
(212^{r}) In agenda mortuorum. A. *Placebo domino…* - (218^{r}) Oremus. *Fidelium deus omnium.*

218 f. Parchment. 216 × 143 mm (135 × *c.*80 mm), 24 long lines written above top line (f. 22^{r}). Gatherings mostly of 8 leaves. Hair side out. Ruling with dry point. Pricking of the double vertical lines visible. Littera minuscula protogothica, continental hand. «Script rather northern French in style» (Wormald). Dated by Folda. Buchthal dates 1131-43 ; Minervini following Folda dates *c.*1135.
Decoration : 24 full-page miniatures, 8 full-page initials, 9 miniatures in the text, 12 medallions with signs of the zodiac in the calendar. Numerous small initials in gold and colours, line fillers, roundels ; the miniature on f. 12^{v} is signed : «Basilius me fecit» ; see Buchthal p. 139-140 no. 1, pl. 1a-19d ; Boase, *Ecclesiastical Art*, p. 125-9, 138 ; *Treasures from the Ark*, p. 198.
Binding : Contemporary ivory binding, now removed and kept separately. On the upper cover, the life of David in six circles connected by interlaces, in the spaces between a psychomachia. On the lower cover, the works of mercy, with fighting beasts and birds in between ; see W. Y. Fletcher, *Foreign Bookbindings in the British Museum*, London, 1896, pl. 2 ; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 22-6 ; K. Weitzmann, *Die bizantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des x.-xiii. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1930-4, II p. 79 ; F. Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1966, no. 90.
Present binding : Nineteenth-century red morocco with gilt and gauffered edges and with the arms of Bridgewater bearing the motto : «sic donec» on the front pastedown. Shelf location «$ 658.B» in pencil on front pastedown. 270 × 160 × 55 mm.
Origin : Jerusalem, scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
Provenance : Made for Melisende († 1161), Queen of Jerusalem (1131-52), daughter of Baldwin II (1118-31) and wife of Fulk of Anjou who succeded him (1131-† 1143). Folda suggests that the manuscript was commissioned, for Melisende, by her husband Fulk.
Ownership : Frère Ponz Daubon (late-twelfth/thirteenth century) ; his name upside down on the front pastedown. Grenoble, Grande Chartreuse ; see A. Gruys, *Cartusiana*, Paris, 1976, p. 288-98 ; A. du Sommerard, *Les arts au Moyen Age*, 5 vols, Paris, 1838-46, V p. 107 and 162-3 where the author states that this manuscript belonged to the Grande Chartreuse at Grenoble. Dr. Ambroise Commarmond (1786-1857), Administrator of the Museum of Lyons. Purchased from him by Professor Guglielmo Libri for the London booksellers Payne & Foss, before his sale, Paris, Fougères C. P. : Jacquin, 1 Dec. 1845 (46 books, 2027 coins). Purchased from Payne & Foss by the British Museum Library on 12 November 1845, from the Bridgewater Fund ; see P. R. Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library, 1753-1973*, London, 1998, p. 69.
Bibliography : Buchthal p. 1-14, 122-6 (calendar), 127-8 (litanies), 132-4 (prayers following the litanies), 139-40 no. 1 ; Boase, *Ecclesiastical Art*,

p. 125-9, 138 ; WATSON (BL) p. 113 no. 598, pl. 71 ; J. FOLDA, A 12th century Prayer Book for the Queen of Jerusalem, in *Medieval Perspectives*, 8, 1993, p. 1-14 ; FOLDA, *The Art*, p. 137-59 ; *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*, ed. D. BUCKTON, London, 1994, no. 180 ; FOLDA, *I manoscritti miniati*, p. 299 ; MINERVINI p. 84 ; B. ZEITLER, The distorting mirror : reflections on the Queen Melisende Psalter (London, B.L., Egerton 1139), in *Through the Looking Glass : Byzantium through British Eyes, Papers from the Twenty-ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, London, March 1995*, ed. R. CORMACK and E. JEFFREYS, Aldershot, 2000 (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications, 7), p. 69-83. *Treasures from the Ark. 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Art*, ed. V. NERSESSIAN, London, 2001, p. 198-200 no. 131.

HS[5]

ORDINARIUM, *1153-57*

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Barb. lat. 659

Jerusalem (Templars)

1. (f. 1r-6v) Calendarium

(1r) *Iani prima dies et vii fine timetur...* (SCHALLER, *Initia*, no. 7597).
Remarks : 24 Jan. *Timothei ep iii lc* ; 26 Jan. *Policarpi ep et m iii lc* ; 27 Jan. (Add :) *Iohannis Crisostomi ep* ; 30 Jan. *Mathie ep Ierusalem et cf* ; 1 Feb. *Ignatii ep et m* ; 6 Feb. *Vedasti et Amandi* ; 18 Feb. *Symeonis ep et m Ierusalem ix lc* ; 11 Mar. *XL mm* ; 18 Mar. *Ierusalem Alexandri ep et m ix lc* ; 27 Mar. *Resurrectio domini* ; 4 Apr. (Add :) *Ambrosii ep* ; 11 Apr. (Add :) *Leonis pp iii lc* ; 13 Apr. (Add :) *Eufemie v* ; 20 Apr. (Add :) *Victoris pp et m iii lc* ; 4 May *Quiriaci ep iii lc* ; 1 June (Add :) *Nicomedis m* ; 8 June *Medardi et Gildardi iii lc* ; 15 June *Viti Modesti et Crescentie iii lc* ; 16 June *Ciriaci et Iulite iii lc* ; 28 June *Leonis pp* ; 15 July (Add :) *Liberacio Ierusalem* ; 16 July (Add :) *Apud Antiochiam in Sirie Eustachii cf iii lc* ; 17 July (Add :) *Marine v* ; 20 July *Margarete v ix lc* ; 28 July (Add :) *Pantaleonis* ; 9 Aug. *Romani m iii lc* ; 20 Aug. (Add :) *Bernardi ab de Claris Vallibus* ; 23 Aug. *Ierusalem Zachei ep et cf* ; 1 Sept. (Add :) *Prisci m* ; 15 Sept. (Add :) *Oct s Marie* ; 17 Sept. *Lamberti ep et m* ; 20 Sept. (Add :) *Fauste v* ; 23 Sept. (Add :) *Thecle v* ; 25 Sept. *Cleophe disc domini iii lc* ; 4 Oct. (Add :) *Francisci cf* ; 5 Oct. (Add :) *Apollinaris iii lc* ; 6 Oct. (Add :) *Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob ix lc* ; 11 Oct. (Add :) *Nichasii ep iii lc* ; 13 Oct. (Add :) *Theophili ep* ; 19 Oct. (Add :) *Fredewide v iii lc* ; 22 Oct. *Ierusalem Marci ep et m ix lc* ; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani iii lc* ; 26 Oct. (Add :) *Demetrii m* ; 29 Oct. *Narcissi ep et cf iii lc* ; 30 Oct. (Add :) *Serapionis ep iii lc* ; 2 Nov. (Add :) *Eustachii et soc* ; 6 Nov. *Leonardi cf* ; 10

Nov. *Martini pp et cf iii lc* ; 25 Nov. *Petri Alexandrini ix lc* ; 4 Dec. *Barbare v et m ix lc* ; 5 Dec. *Sabbee ab ix lc* ; 17 Dec. (Add :) *Lazari ep* ; 25 Dec. *Anastasie* ; 29 Dec. *Thome ep et m ix lc.*

Calendar of the Holy Sepulchre ; see full text in Appendix.
The obituary notes of thirteen grand masters of the Templars of Jerusalem are added in late-twelfth- and thirteenth-century hands : 17 Jan. *Obiit Andreas magr* (Andrew of Montbard, 5th grand master 1154-6) ; 28 Jan. *Eodem die obiit fr Petrus de Monte Accuto, XV magr milicie Templi* (Peter of Montaigu, 15th grand master 1219-30/2) ; 2 Feb. *Obiit fr Arma* (Armand of Périgord, 16th grand master c.1232-44/6) ; 2 Apr. *Obiit fr Philippus de Neapolim, VII magr* (Philip of Nablus, 7th grand master 1169-71) ; 9 May *Obiit fr Riccardus de Bures XVII magr* (Richard of Bures, 17th grand master 1244/45-47) ; 24 May *Obiit Hugo magister Templi primus* (Hugh of Payns, 1st grand master 1119-*c.*1136) ; 16 Aug. *Obiit Bernardus magr Templi IIII* (Bernard of Tremelay, 4th grand master 1153, apparently in the hand of the scribe who has compiled the calendar) ; 26 Aug. *Obiit fr Will[elmi] de Origo magr milicie Templi XIIII magr* (William of Chartres, 14th grand master 1210-18/19) ; 28 Sept. *Obiit Robertus de Sabloil XI magr* (Robert of Sablé, 11th grand master 1191-92/3) ; 30 Sept. *Obiit Arnaldus de T.* (Arnold of Torroja, 9th grand master 1181-84) ; upper margin Oct. *Obiit Girardus de Ridefors magr* (Gerard of Ridefort, 10th grand master 1185-89) ; 8 Oct. *Obiit fr Hodo de Sancto Amando VIII magr Templi* (Odo of Saint-Amand, 8th grand master *c.*1171-79) ; 12 Nov. *Obiit fr Philippi de Plessiez magistri milicie Templi XIII magr* (Philip of Plessis, 13th grand master 1201-09) ; 21 Dec. *Obiit Gilebertus Erailus XII* (Gilbert Érail, 12th grand master 1194-1200).

2. (f. 7r) Tabula paschalis

3. (f. 7v) Festa et Ieiunia

(7v) Notum sit omnibus fratribus Templi tam presentibus quam futuris quod ieiunare debent per omnes vigilias .xii. apostolorum scilicet Petri et Pauli et Andree Iacobi [Thadee ?] Philippi Thome Bartholomei et Mathei Symonis et Iude Iacobi qui frater domini dicitur et Mathie. Hoc autem fiant secundum precepta Innocentii pape edita in concilio qui fuit in ciuitate Pisana (30 May - 6 June 1135 ; see D. GIRGENSOHN, Das Pisaner Konzil von 1135 in der Überlieferung des Pisaner Konzils von 1409, in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971*, 3 vols, Göttingen, 1971-2 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 36/I-III), II p. 1063-1100, at 1098-1100 and BARBER, *The New Knighthood* p. 344 n. 41). Si autem prefata festa in die lune euenerint...Hec sunt festa qui coli iubentur in domo Templi. Natiuitas domini et festum s Stephani protom, Iohannis ev, et Innocentum, et oct nat domini et Epiphania et Purificatio s Marie et s Mathie ap, Annuntiatio dominica, Pascha cum tribus diebus sequentibus \et festum s Georgi/ et ss Philippi et Iacobi, Inuentio s Crucis et Ascensio domini et Pentecosten cum duobus diebus \Barnabe ap/ et s Iohannis Baptiste, Petri et Pauli et s Marie

Magdalene, Iacobi ap et s Laurentii, Assumptio s Marie, Bartholomei ap et nat s Marie, Exaltatio s Crucis, s Mathei ap, s Michaelis, Symonis et Iude, festum omnium ss et s Martini nisi de carrucis (fr. charrue = plough ; see J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, Leiden, 1976, p. 148) \s Katherine nisi de carrucis/, s Andree ap et s Nicholai nisi de carrucis et s Thome ap. Cetera uero festa in domo Templi minime colantur \tamen festa ss patriarcharum ecclesiarum Templi coluntur [***]/ Quando currit nulla inuenimus [***] septimanam et quando .xi. inuenimus [***].

4. (f. 7^{v}-9^{v}) Tabulae ad inueniendum Quadragesimam Pascham etc.

5. (f. 10^{r}-12^{v}) Ordo qualiter debet orari pro infirmo canonico
(10^{r}) Ordo secundum institutionem ecclesie dominici Sepulchri qualiter debet orari pro infirmo canonico quamdiu in lecto egritudinis iacuerit. Ad horas. Ad matutinas. Ps. *Beatus qui intelligit...* - (12^{r}) [In fine psalmorum.] *Pater noster...Dominus vobiscum. Fidelium deus. Qui venturus est. Requiescant in pace.* A.
(10^{r}) Missa pro infirmo qui proximus est mortem. *Circumdederunt me*. Ps. *Diligam te...*

6. (f. 12^{v}-13^{r}) [Conventio]
(12^{v}) Vtilitati et honestati sancte dei ecclesie diligentiam adhibere cupientes...ego W. dei gratia patriarcha Iherosolimitanus et P. prior s Sepulcri et eiusdem canonicorum conuentus quondam fraternitatem ad animarum medelam et corporum venustatem Achardo priore Templi et domno Hernaldo priore Montis Syon et domno Henrico priore Montis OlIueti, assensu et concessione canonicorum sibi subditorum, satis conuenientem statuimus... - (13^{r}) ...celebretur fiat fiat amen.
Agreement of a bond of confraternity between William of Malines, patriarch of Jerusalem (1130-45), and Peter I, prior of the Holy Sepulchre (*c.*1130 - *c.*1148) on one side, and, on the other, Achardus, prior of Templum Domini (*c.*1112 - *c.*1136), Arnaldus, prior of Mount Sion (*c.*1117 - *c.*1138), and Henricus, prior of Mount of Olives (*c.*1130 - *c.*1145). Each institution undertakes to send a delegation to assist in procession to the funeral of canons of other houses ; to celebrate the memory for seven days ; to feed a poor for the same amount of days. The establishment of the bond of confraternity will be remembered each year on 16 March. Dated 16 March [1130-36]. Not in de Rozière ; Bresc-Bautier p. 351-2 Appendix 3 ; see Giovene p. 66 ; Kohler p. 434-5.

7. (f. 13^{r-v}) Quod fieri debeat pro canonicis defunctis ecclesie dominici Sepulcri

(13^{r}) Anno ab incarnatione domini .M.C.XXX.III. indictione .XI. Ego W. dei gratia Iherusalem patriarcha atque Petrus dominici Sepulcri prior canonicis eius monentibus atque rogantibus, quod antecessores nostri, venerande memorie viri, gratia superna premoniti, constituerunt, nostre et successorum nostrorum saluti providentes, scriptis presentibus confirmamus. Cum fratrem nostrum... - (13^{v}) ...clamet in die iudicii. Fiat fiat amen amen.
Confirmation of William of Malines, patriarch of Jerusalem (1130-45), and Peter I, prior of the Holy Sepulchre (*c.*1130 - *c.*1148), of certain prescriptions related to the burial of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, dated [before 1 Sept.] 1133. Not in de Rozière ; Bresc-Bautier p. 349-50 Appendix 2 ; see Giovene p. 64-5 ; Kohler p. 433-4.

8. (f. 14^{r}-18^{r}) De ordine legendi et canendi in ecclesia sanctissimi Sepulcri qualiter legendi sunt codices per annum
(14^{r}) Ab oct Epiphanie usque ad septuagesimam leguntur epistole Pauli... - (18^{r}) feria III ante cenam complemus offitium mortuorum plenarie et tunc premittitur usque ad clausum Pasche, ad clausum namque Pasche reiterantur ea que praetermittuntur.

9. (16^{r-v}) De recipienda persona
(16^{r}) De recipienda persona. Sancte ecclesie mos est iste a maioribus contraditus ut rectoribus ecclesiarum ut ducibus populorum de remotis partibus post diuturna tempora redentibus totus grex fidelium sibi commissus letus occurrerat, eosque cum dignis honoribus et obsequiis triumphalibus in sancta ecclesia hoc modo suscipiat... - (16^{v})...Oremus. *Deus humilium visitator.*

10. (f. 18^{r}-26^{r}) Consuetudo legendi in refectorio dominici Sepulcri
(18^{r}) Hec est consuetudo legendi in refectorio dominici sepulcri. A nat domini usque ad septuagesimam leguntur homelie euangeliorum et proprietates sanctorum, ubi autem ille defuerint legitur Augustinum super Iohannem... - (26^{r}) [Vig nat domini.] Inuitatorium. *Hodie scietis.*

11. (f. 26^{v}-96^{v}) Breviarium : Proprium de tempore
(26^{v}) Incipit breviarium adbreviatum idest quoddam excerptum de pluribus libris secundum antiquam consuetudinem institutionum ecclesie dominici Sepulcri, partim secundum novam [consuetudinem] legendi et canendi in eadem ecclesia sicuti patres antiqui et priores predicte ecclesie, valde probabiles viri communi assensu, parique voto et bona discretione simpliciter ordinaverunt ac nullo con-

tradicente firmiter tenere et habere pariter decreverunt. Si autem aliquid hic de predictis consuetudinibus quod scriptum non sit defuerit in fine libri huius queratur. In adventu domini sabbato ad vesperas. A. *Benedictus...* - (96v) [Dominica XXIIII.] Ad vesperas. A. *Dicebat enim intra se.*

(54v) Dominica in LXX ; (55v) Dominica in LX ; (56r) Dominica in quinquagesima ; (67v) Feria V ; (71r) Feria VI ; (73r) Sabbato s ; (75v) In die s Pasche ; (88r) Letania septena...*Iohannes Baptista, Petre, Paule, Andrea, Iacobe, Stephane, Line, Clete, Clemens, Augustine, Siluester, Leo, Gregori, Ambrosi, Maria Magdalena, Maria Egiptiaca, Felicitas, Perpetua...* ; Letania quina...*Thoma, Iachobe, Philippe, Sixte, Alexander, Cleopha, Marce, Martine, Ylari, Marcialis, Iuliane, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia...* ; (89v) Letania terna...*Bartholomee, Mathee, Symon, Thaldee, Innocentes, Symeon, Quiriace, Laurentii, Vincenti, Nicholae, Iheronime, Benedicte, Maure, Tecla, Paula, Juliana, Fides* ; (96r) Dominica I post oct Pentecostes ; (96v) Dominica XXIIII.

12. (f. 96v-120r) Proprium de sanctis
(96v) 2 June Ss Marcellini et Petri .iii. lectiones hore plurimorum mm... - (120r) [Thome ap.] Ad vesperas. Com. *Mitte manum tuam.*

(96v) 8 June *Medardi et Gildardi* ; 9 June *Primi et Feliciani* ; 11 June *Barnabe ap* ; 12 June *Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Nazarii* ; 15 June *Viti Modesti et Crescentie* ; 16 June *Cirici et Iulite* ; 18 June *Marci et Marcelliani* ; 19 June *Geruasii et Protasii* ; 22 June *Paulini ep* ; 23 June *In vig s Iohannis Baptiste* ; (98r) 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli* ; 28 June *In vig app Petri et Pauli* ; (99v) 1 July *In oct s Iohannis et* (6 July) *app Petri et Pauli* ; 30 June *In comm s Pauli* ; (100v) 4 July *In transl et ordinatione s Martini* ; (101r) 10 July *Septem fratrum* ; 15 July *In liberatione s ciuitatis Iherusalem de manibus Turchorum* ; (102r) Eodem die *dedicatio ecclesie dominici Sepulcri quam sollempniter celebramus iuxta voluntatem et preceptum domini Fulcherii patriarche* ; (103r) 20 July (Add :) *Margarite v* ; 21 July *Praxedis* ; 22 July *Marie Magdalene* ; 23 July *Apollinaris* ; 24 July *Vig Iachobi* ; (103v) 29 July *Felicis Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis* ; 30 July *Abdon et Sennes* ; 31 July *Germani ep* ; 1 Aug. *Petri ad vincula* ; (104r) 2 Aug. *Memoria s Stephani pp* ; 3 Aug. *In Inuentione s Stephani* ; 6 Aug. *In Transfiguratione domini* ; (104v) *Sixti Felicissimi et Agapiti* ; 7 Aug. *Donati ep* ; 8 Aug. *Ciriaci c.s.s* ; 9 Aug. *In vig Laurentii* ; (105r) 11 Aug. *Memoria s Tiburcii* ; 13 Aug. *Ypoliti c.s.s* ; (105v) 14 Aug. *Memoria s Eusebii cf* ; *Vig Assumptionis BMV... processio ad montem Syon, in valle Iosaphat, in ecclesia que dicitur s Saluatoris* ; (107r) 17 Aug. *Oct s Laurentii* ; 18 Aug. *Agapiti* ; 22 Aug. *In oct BMV* ; *Timothei memoria* ; (107v) 23 Aug. *Zachei ep et cf* ; *Vig Bartholomei* ; 27 Aug. *Rufi* ; 28 Aug. *De s Augustino patre nostro* ; 29 Aug. *Iohanne Baptista* ; (108v) *Memoria s Sabine* ; 30 Aug. *Felicis et Audacti* ; (109r) 1 Sept. *De s Egidio* ; 8 Sept. *In nat BMV* ; *Adriani* ; (110r) 9 Sept. *Gorgonii* ; 11 Sept. *Proti et Jacincti* ; 13 Sept. *Maurilii ep* ; 14 Sept. *In Exaltatione s [Crucis] processio in montem Caluarie* ; (110v) 20 Sept. *Vig Mathei ap* ; (111v) 21 Sept. *In die* ; 22 Sept. *Maurici festiuitas* ; 25 Sept. *Cleophe disc* ; 27 Sept. *Cosme et Damiani* ; 29 Sept. *Michaelis arch* ; (112r) 30 Sept. *Bethleem Ieronimi presb* ; 1 Oct. *Germani Remigi Vedasti* ; 2 Oct. *Leodegarii* ; 6 Oct. *In festo ss patriarcharum Abrahe Ysacc et Iacob* ; (112v) 7 Oct. *Marci Sergii et Bachi Marcelli et Apulei* ; (113r) 9 Oct. *Dionisii Rustici et Eleuterii* ; (113v) 14 Oct. *Calixti pp* ; 18 Oct. *Luche ev* ; 19 Oct. (Add :) *Fredewide v lc. iii* ; 22 Oct. *Iherusalem Marchi ep* ; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani* ; 27 Oct. *Vig Symonis et Jude* ; (114r) 29 Oct. *Iherusalem Narcissi ep* ; 31 Oct. *Vig omnium ss* ; (114v) 1 Nov. *In die* ; (115r) *Memoria s Cesarii* ; 2 Nov. (Add :) *De s Eustachio m lc. iii* ; *[Comm defunctorum], processio ad ecclesiam que dicitur Acheldemach* (Hakeldama, the field which was used to bury the foreigners, later called by the Arabs Ak-el-Dam, the fields of the blood ; see M. DE VOGÜÉ, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, 253 and 334) ; (116r) 6 Nov. *Leonardi* ; 8 Nov. *Quatuor coronatorum* ; 9 Nov. *Theodori* ; 10 Nov. *Martini pp* ; 11 Nov. *In transitum s Martini archiep Turonensis summi et incomparabilis viri* ; *Memoria Menne* ; (117v) 13 Nov. *De s Bristio* ; 22 Nov. *De s Cecilia* ; (118r) 23 Nov. *De s Clemente* ; (118v) 24 Nov. *Memoria s Grisogoni* ; 25 Nov. (Add :) *Katerine lc. ix* ; *Petri Alexandrini ep et m* (erased) ; 29 Nov. *Vig Andree ap* ; *festum s Saturnini* ; (119r) 4 Dec. *In festo s Barbare* ; 5 Dec. *Iherusalem s Sabe ab et cf* (erased) ; 30 Nov. *De s Andrea* ; 6 Dec. *Nicholai ep* ; (119v) 13 Dec. *Lucie* ; (120r) 17 Dec. *Lazari ep* ; 21 Dec. *Thome ap.*

13. (f. 120r-124v) Commune sanctorum
(120r) In vig app commune offitium. Ad vesperas A. Ps. secundum feriam. Cap. *Non vos me elegisti...* - (124v) [Unius v.] Ad matutinas. Intr. *Regem virginum dieta.*
(121r) In nat plurimorum mm ; (121v) In nat unius m ; (122r) In nat unius cf ep ; (122v) In nat unius cf qui non est ep ; (123r) In nat plurimorum cff ; (123v) In nat unius v m ; (124r) In nat plurimorum mm ; De uno m \et ep/ ; (124v) De uno cf et ep ; Unius v.

14. (f. 124v-139v) Proprium de tempore - de sanctis - commune sanctorum (cont.)

(124^{v}) In die Resurrectionis ad magnam missam. Officium. Intr. *Resurrexi et ad huc...* - (139^{r}) [In nat ss vv.] Collecta. *Simile est regnum.* Collecta. *Diffusa est gratia in labiis.*

(125^{r}) Dominica I post Pascham; In Pascha annotina; (126^{r}) 14 Apr. *In paschali tempore s Tiburcii et Valeriani et Maximi*; 23 Apr. *Georgi m*; 25 Apr. *Marchi ev*; 1 May *Philippi et Iacobi*; 2 May *Athanasii ep*; (126^{v}) 3 May *Inuentio s Crucis*; ipso die *Alexandri Euenti et Theodoli*; 4 May *Quiriaci*; 6 May *Iohannis ante portam latinam*; 10 May *Gordiani et Epimachi;* ipso die *Cataldi ep et cf*; 12 May *Nerei et Achillei et Pancratii*; 25 May *Vrbani pp*; (127^{r}) *In vig Ascensionis domini; In die; In die Pentecostes*; (128^{r}) *Dominica I post Pentecosten*; Missa de Trinitate; (131^{r}) [Proprium de sanctis.] 2 June *Marcellini et Petri*; 9 June *Primi et Feliciani*; (131^{v}) 11 June *Barnabe ap*; 12 June *Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Nazarii*; 18 June *Marci et Marcelliani*; 19 June *Geruasii et Protasii*; 23 June *In vig s Iohannis Baptiste*; 24 June *In die*; 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli*; (132^{r}) 28 June *In vig app Petri et Pauli*; 30 June *Comm s Pauli*; 2 July *Processi et Martiniani*; 6 July *Oct Petri et Pauli*; 10 July *Septem fratrum*; 15 July *In liberatione s ciuitatis Iherusalem de manibus Turchorum. Ipso die dedicatio ecclesie dominici Sepulcri*; (132^{v}) 21 July *Praxedis*; 22 July *Marie Magdalene*; 23 July *Apollinaris*; 24 July *Vig s Iacobi*; 25 July *In die*; 29 July *Felicis Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis*; (133^{r}) 30 July *Abdon et Sennes*; 1 Aug. *Vincula s Petri et ss Machabeorum*; 2 Aug. *Stephani pp*; 6 Aug. *Sixti Felicissimi et Agapiti;* Eodem die *Transfiguratio domini*; 7 Aug. *Donati ep*; 8 Aug. *Sciriaci c.s.s.*; 9 Aug. *Vig s Laurentii*; (133^{v}) 10 Aug. *In die*; 11 Aug. *Tiburcii*; 13 Aug. *Ypoliti c.s.s.*; 14 Aug. *Vig Assumptionis BMV*; Eodem die *Eusebii cf*; 15 Aug. *In die*; 17 Aug. *Oct s Laurentii*; 18 Aug. *Agapiti m*; (134^{r}) 22 Aug. *Timothei et Simphoriani*; *Oct BMV*; 24 Aug. *Bartholomei*; 27 Aug. *Rufi m*; 28 Aug. *Augustini ep patris nostri*; Eodem die *Ermetis m et Juliani m*; 29 Aug. *Decollatio s Iohannis Baptiste;* Ipso die *Sabine v*; (134^{v}) 30 Aug. *Felicis et Adaucti; Missa maiorem de s Augustino*; 1 Sept. *Egidii ab*; 4 Sept. *Oct s Augustini*; 8 Sept. *In nat BMV;* Eodem die *Adriani*; 9 Sept. *Gorgonii m*; 11 Sept. *Proti et Iacincti*; 13 Sept. *Maurilii ep*; 14 Sept. *In Exaltatione s Crucis;* Eodem die *Corneli et Cipriani*; 15 Sept. *Nicomedis*; (135^{r}) 16 Sept. *Eufemie*; 17 Sept. *Lamberti ep*; 20 Sept. *Vig s Mathei ap*; 21 Sept. *In die*; 22 Sept. *Mauricii sotiorumque eius*; 25 Sept. *Cleophe disc*; 27 Sept. *Cosme et Damiani*; (135^{v}) 29 Sept. *Michaelis arch*; 30 Sept. *Betleem Jheronimi presb*; 1 Oct. *Germani Remigii Vedasti*; 2 Oct. *Leodegarii*; 6 Oct. *In festo ss patriarcharum Abrahe Ysaach et Iacob;* Eodem die *Fidis v*; 7 Oct. *Marci et Marcelli et Apulei Sergii et Bachi; Marchi*; (136^{r}) 9 Oct. *Dionisii Rustici et Eleuterii*; 14 Oct. *Calixti pp*; 18 Oct. *Luce ev*;

22 Oct. *Iherusalem Marci ep*; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani*; 27 Oct. *Vig Simonis et Jude*; 28 Oct. *In die*; Eodem die *Quintini*; (136^{v}) 2 Nov. *Comm omnium fidelium defunctorum*; 6 Nov. *Leonardi*; 8 Nov. *Quatuor coronatorum*; 9 Nov. *Theodori*; 10 Nov. *Martini pp*; 11 Nov. *Transitus s Martini ep*; Eodem die *Menne*; (137^{r}) 13 Nov. *Bricii ep*; 22 Nov. *Cecilie*; 23 Nov. *Clementis ep*; 24 Nov. *Grisogoni*; 25 Nov. *Petri Alexandrini ep*; 29 Nov. *Saturnini;* Ipso die *vig s Andree ap*; 30 Nov. *In die*; (137^{v}) 4 Dec. *Barbare*; 5 Dec. *Sabe ab*; 6 Dec. *Nicholai ep*; 13 Dec. *Lucie*; 17 Dec. *Lazari ep*; 20 Dec. *Vig Thome ap*; 21 Dec. *In die*; (138^{r}) [Commune sanctorum.] Incipit offitium ss proprietatem non habentium in gradali. In nat app; In nat unius m simplicis; In nat plurimorum mm; (138^{v}) In nat unius m pont et unius cf ep; In nat unius cf non pont vel ab; (139^{r}) In nat plurimorum cff; In nat ss vv.

Remarks: Beyssac observed « Cet ordinarium est aussi mal ordonné que possible les messes sont dispersies, separees de l'office etc. » The confusion may suggest that this ordinal was copied from more than one book, and/or by somebody not very familiar with liturgical texts.

15. (f. 139^{r}) Additio, 13th c.

(139^{r}) S Thome protom. [Or.] *Deus pro cuius ecclesia b Thomas gloriosus martir...consequamur effectum. Per.*

Repeated in the lower margin in a different, contemporary hand.

16. (f. 139^{v}) Additio, 13th c., with French notation

(139^{v}) *Venite exultemus domino...* (Ps. 94; see *Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, ed. H. M. Bannister, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1913; repr. Farnborough 1969, I no. 322); *Gloria patri...Amen.*

139 f. Parchment. Brown ink. 279 × 195 mm (210 × 140 mm), 26 long lines written above top line (f. 45). Collation: 1^{10-1} (wants 10) $2\text{-}16^{8}$ 17^{10}. Hair side out. Pricking visible in the outer margin. Ruling with lead. Gathering numbers in Roman numerals almost always visible in the middle of the lower margin of the versos; gatherings 13-17 also have the Roman numerals i-vi in the lower left-hand corner of the recto of the first leaf. 2° folio: « Martis prima necat ». Folio numbering, in the upper right-hand corner of the rectos, in black ink, in an eighteenth-century hand. Norman minuscule. Wessels dates 1160. Buchthal dates to 1229-44. The inscription of the obituary note for Bernard of Tremelay, 4th master († 1153) in the original hand, suggests that the manuscript was written between 1153 and 1157, date of the death of the patriarch of Jerusalem Fulcher of Celles, after whom no other patriarch is mentioned in the ordinal; see also Chapter I.

Decoration: On f. 10^{r} a six-line initial « O » is supplied in red with reserved-white decoration, within a square ground supplied in blue and yellow with red dots decoration edged by a frame supplied in blue with red dots decora-

tion. The area defined by the letter consists of red penwork decoration in the shape of acanthus leaves within a yellow and blue ground. Other initials are supplied in red, sometimes with extension into the margin to form a border in the shape of acanthus leaves coloured in blue.

BINDING : Eighteenth-century parchment over pasteboards, with the arms of the Barberini family gold-tooled on the spine at head and tail : a crown and below, a bee ; see G. B. DI CROLLALANZA, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane estinte e fiorenti*, 3 vols, Pisa, 1886-90, I p. 92 ; A. SCORZA, *Enciclopedia Araldica Italiana*, 24 vols, Genoa, [1955-72?], IV p. 50. « Rituale » gold-tooled on a rectangular brown leather label on the spine. « 32 » in brown ink at head of the spine, and « XIV. » at tail. 293 × 202 × 45 mm.

ORIGIN : Jerusalem, scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

PROVENANCE : Made for the Templars of Jerusalem, from a copy of the Ordinal of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

OWNERSHIP : Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, Val de la Benediction (Vallis Benedictionis), Carthusians, founded in 1356 by Innocent VI, suppressed in 1792; inscriptions in a fourteenth/fifteenth-century hand in the lower margin of f. 11^r : « Vallis Benedictionis », and on f. 137^v : « Iste liber est domus Vallisbenedictionis ordinis Cartusiensis de Villanoua prope Auignonem » ; inscription in a seventeenth-century(?) hand in the lower margin of f. 10^r : « Carthusiae Villae nouae prope Auenionem » ; see COTTINEAU II p. 3394 ; A. VERNET, Un manuscrit de la Chartreuse de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 107, 1947-8, p. 76-82 ; J. VIELLIARD, Manuscrits de la chartreuse de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon conservés à la Bibliothèque Vaticane, in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* VII, Vatican City, 1964 (Studi e Testi, 237), p. 441-50, at 448 ; A. GRUYS, *Cartusiana*, Paris, 1976, p. 386-90 ; the ordinal appears in the 1477 catalogue of the library edited by A. MAIER, Ein Handschriftkatalog des Kartause Vallis Benedictionis bei Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, in *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi*, ed. B. MARACCHI BIAGIARELLI and D. E. RHODES, Florence, 1973 (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 71), p. 347-67, at 364 no. 136 ; on the ex-libris see also DE FORBIN p. 39 n. 1.

Francesco Barberini (1597-1679) ; Cardinal Bishop of Ostia 1666-79 ; see *DBI* VI p. 172-6, EUBEL IV p. 18-19 ; C. FRATI and A. SORBELLI, *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari italiani (s. XIV-)*, Florence, 1933, p. 48 ; M. PARENTI, *Aggiunte al dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani di Carlo Frati*, 3 vols, Firenze, 1959-60, I p. 79. This manuscript appears as item 136 in the list drawn by Joseph-Marie de Suarez, bishop of Vaison 1633-66, some time before 1627, including manuscripts from Avignon libraries that might have been of interest to the Cardinal, with whom he was in contact since 1622, and who employed him as librarian in 1629 ; see DE FORBIN p. 40 and 63 ; on de Suarez see MAIER p. 349-50. The Bar-

berini collection was acquired by the Vatican Library in 1902 under Leo XIII ; oval printed stamp of the library in various parts of the book ; see G. GABRIELI, La Biblioteca Barberiniana, in *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 44 vols, Rome, 1929-81, VI p. 140.

OLD SHELFMARKS : On the upper margin of f. 1^r is probably the first shelfmark of the Barberini library : « 1603 (crossed out) Rituale antiquum pro monachis » in a seventeenth-century hand. « 328 » in brown ink on a rectangular printed label in the middle of f. 1^r and handwritten in various parts of the calendar : this is the classification introduced by Guglielmo Mansi, librarian about 1817-20. « XIV. 32 » in brown ink, on front pastedown and on the spine (see above) : this is the third type of shelfmark of the Barberini library, introduced from 1825 by the nineteenth-century librarians Sante and Alessandro Pieralisi ; see *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque vaticane, I*, ed. E. PELLEGRIN, J. FOHLEN, C. JEUDY, Y.-F. RIOUX, A. MARUCCHI, Paris, 1975 (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 21), p. 59.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : WESSELS II p. 123 n. 3 ; B. ZIMMERMAN, *Ordinaire de l'ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel*, Paris, 1910 (Bibliothèque Liturgique publiée par Ulysse Chevalier, 3) ; B. ZIMMERMAN, Carmes, in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. CABROL, *et al.*, 15 vols, Paris, 1907-53, II-2, col. 2167 ; BUCHTHAL p. xxxi, 107, 128, 136, pl. 137b ; KALLENBERG p. 285 ; P. SALMON, *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, 5 vols, Vatican City, 1968-72 (Studi e Testi, 251, 253, 260, 267, 270), IV p. 80 no. 238 ; V. SAXER, Le calendrier de l'Église latine d'Antioche à l'usage du patriarche Opizzo Ier Fieschi (1254-1255), in *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 26, 1972, p. 105-23, at 105 and 109 ; M.-L. BULST-THIELE, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi hierosolymitani Magistri : Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19-1314*, Göttingen, 1974 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 86), p. 12 n. 12 and 12a, 380, 415, pl. 5 (f. 7^v) ; M. DYKMANS, Les obituaires romains. Une définition suivie d'une vue d'ensemble, in *Studi Medievali*, 19, 2, 1978, p. 591-652, at 634 and 637 ; N. B. DE GAIFFIER, A propos des légendiers latins, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 97, 1979, p. 57-68, at 66 (reference to f. 14 : reading in the refectory) ; M. BUONOCORE, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1968-1980)*, 2 vols, Vatican City, 1986 (Studi e Testi, 318-19), II p. 131 ; FRANÇOISE DE FORBIN, Les manuscrits de la Chartreuse de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, in *Les Chartreux et l'art. XIVe-XVIIIe siècles. Actes du Xe colloque international d'histoire et de spiritualité cartusiennes (Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, 15-18 septembre 1988)*, Paris, 1989, p. 39-63 ; A. LINDER, The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem, in *Medieval Studies*, 52, 1990, p. 110-31, at 112ss cited as V ; LEGRAS - LEMAÎTRE p. 90 n. 64 ; M. CERESA, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1981-1985)*, Vatican City, 1991 (Studi e Testi, 342), p. 40 ; MINERVINI p. 86.

HS^{6} **MISSALE**, *c.1200*

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. VI. G. 11

Acre

1. (f. 1^{r}-95^{v}) Proprium de tempore
(1^{r}) | | Alia missa in mane. *Lux fulgibus hodie super nos quia natus est nobis*...Or. *Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui noua incarnati verbi tui luce*...De s Anastasia oratio... - (90^{v}) [Sabbato.] Oremus. *O.s.d. respice propitius ad deuotionem populi renascentis...sanctificet*. Per.
(9^{v}) Dominica I post octabam Theophanie; (13^{r}) Dominica in septuagesima; (15^{r}) Dominica in sexagesima; (18^{v}) Absolutio; Bn cinerum; (22^{v}) Dominica I in XL; (31^{r}) Dominica II in XL; (38^{r}) Dominica III in XL; (46^{v}) Dominica IV media XL; (55^{r}) Dominica V de passione domini; (62^{r}) Dominica in ramis palmarum; (63^{v}) Passio domini; (76^{r}) Feria V; (77^{v}) Feria VI; (81^{r}) Sequitur orationes sollempnes; (82^{v}) Bn cerei in sabbato; (90^{v}) [Sabbato].

Remarks: On f. 63^{v}, 69^{r}, 73^{r}, and 78^{v}, in correspondence with the *Passio* according to the four Evangelists, the interlinear marks 'c', 's', and '+' (probably a transcription error for 't') are *litterae significativae*, indicating to the cantor the modulation of the voice, according to the prescriptions of Notker Balbulus (10th c.): c = *ut cito vel celeriter dicatur certificat*; s = *sursum vel sursum scadere sibilat*; t = *trahere vel tenere testatur*; see ARNESE p. 22.

2. (f. 90^{v}-95^{v}) Litaniae sanctorum
(90^{v}) Hic incipit letania prima... - (95^{v}) [Ordo baptismi.] Postcom. *Spiritum nobis domine tue caritatis infunde ut quos sacrament...pietate concordes. Per. In unitate eiusdem spiritus, ite missa est.* | |
(90^{v}) *Kyrrieleyson...Iohannes Baptista* (Patriarchae et Prophetae); *Andrea, Iohannes, Iacobe, Philippe, Bartholomei, Mathee, Thome, Iacobe, Symon, Thadee, Luca, Marce* (Apostoli, Evangelistae, et Discipuli); *Innocentes, Vincenti, Dionysi c.s.t., Eustachi c.s.t., Maurici c.s.t., Ypoliti c.s.t., Christofore, Geruasi, Prothasi, Leodegari* (Martyres); *Siluester, Audoene, Nicholae, Maure* (Confessores, Monachi, et Heremitae); *Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia* (Virgines).
(91^{r}) *Ut pacem...; Ut ecclesiam...; Ut dominum apostolicum...; Ut cunctum populum christianum...; Ut iudeos et paganos conuertere digneris. Ut in his paschalibus gaudiis...; Ut hereticos et scismaticos...; Ut ad gaudia eterna...; Ut nos exaudire digneris...*; (91^{v}) Bn fontis; (92^{r}) Incipit baptisterium.

3. (f. 96^{r}-99^{v}) Ordo Missae, 13/14th(?) c.
(96^{r}) | | *Tibi domine deus creatori nostro hostiam placationis offerimus pro remissione omnium peccatorum nostrorum suppliciter exoramus...* - (99^{v}) Oremus. *Preceptis salutaribus moniti...dicere.*

(96^{v}) (Miniature: Crucifixion); (97^{r}) (Miniature: *Maiestas domini*); (97^{v}) *Per omnia secula seculorum...*; (98^{r}) *Vere dignum...*; (98^{v}) *Te igitur...*; *Memento...*; (99^{r}) *Communicantes...Petri, Pauli, Andree, Iacobi, Iohannis, Thome, Iacobi, Philippi, Bartholomei, Mathei, Symonis et Thaddei, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Syxtii, Corneli, Cypriani, Laurenti,* [***], *Crisogoni, Iohannis et Pauli, Cosme et Damiani...*; (99^{v}) *Nobis quoque...Iohanne, Stephano, Mathia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cecilia, Anastasia, M*[***].

The Ordo missae is inserted between Holy Saturday and Easter Day.

4. (100^{r}-160^{v}) Proprium de tempore (cont.)
(100^{r}) [In die s Pasche.] *Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum alleluia...*; Collecta. *Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum eternitatis nobis aditum de victa morte reserasti...* - (160^{v}) [Dominca XXV. Feria VI.] Secundum Marcum. *I.i.t.d.I.d.s. vigilate et orate nescitis enim quando tempus sit...potestatem cuiusque operis et iam.* | |
(101^{r}) Feria II; (107^{r}) In oct Pasche; (115^{r}) In die Ascensionis domini; (118^{v}) In die Penthecostes; (116^{r}) Dominica I post oct Penthecostes.

Remarks: The Alleluia verses of the Sundays after the octave of Pentecost have been adapted to the use of the Holy Sepulchre; see Chapter V.

5. (f. 160^{r}-212^{v}) Proprium de sanctis
(161^{r}) In nat s Siluestri pp et cf. *Sacerdotes tui domine...* - (212^{v}) [Thome ap.] Postcom. *Conserua domine populum tuum et quem sanctorum tuorum presidiis non desinis adiuuare perpetuis tribue remediis. Per.*
(161^{v}) 3 Jan. *Nat s Genofeue* (*sic*) *v*; 14 Jan. *Felicis cf*; (162^{v}) 15 Jan. *Mauri ab*; 16 Jan. *Marcelli pp et m*; (163^{v}) 18 Jan. *Prisce v*; (164^{r}) 20 Jan. *Fabiani et Sebastiani*; (165^{r}) 21 Jan. *Agnetis*; (165^{v}) 22 Jan. *Vincentii*; (166^{v}) 25 Jan. *Preiecti*; Eodem die *Conuersio s Pauli*; (167^{v}) 28 Jan. *Agnetis secundo*; 2 Feb. *In Purificatione s Marie*; (169^{v}) 3 Feb. *Blasii ep et m*; 5 Feb. *In nat s Agathe m*; (170^{r}) 10 Feb. *Scolastice v*; Eodem die *Sotheris v*; (170^{v}) 14 Feb. *Valentini*; (171^{r}) 16 Feb. *Iuliane*; 22 Feb. *In cathedra s Petri*; (172^{r}) 24 Feb. *Mathie ap*; (172^{v}) 7 Mar. *Perpetue et Felicitatis*; (173^{r}) 12 Mar. *Gregorii pp*; 21 Mar. *Benedicti ab*; (173^{v}) 25 Mar. *In Annuntiatione s Marie*; (174^{r}) 4 Apr. *Ambrosii cf*; (174^{v}) 11 Apr. *Leonis ep et cf*; 13 Apr. *Eufemie m*; 14 Apr. *Tyburcii Valeriani et Maximi*; (175^{r}) 23 Apr. *Georgii*; (176^{r}) 25 Apr. *Marchi ev*; (176^{v}) 28 Apr. *Vitalis m*; (177^{r}) 1 May *Philippi et Iacobi*; (177^{v}) 3 May *Alexandri Euentii et Th[eodoli]*; (178^{r}) Eodem die *Inuentio s Crucis*; (178^{v}) 6 May *Iohannis ap ante portam latinam*; 10 May *Gordiani et Epimachi*; (179^{r}) 12 May *Nerei Achillei et Panc[ratii]*; (179)

25 May *Vrbani pp*; (180^r) 15 June *Viti Modesti et Crescentie*; 18 June *Marci et Marcelliani*; (180^v) 19 June *Geruasii et Prothasii*; (181^r) 23 June *In vig s Iohannis Baptiste*; (181^v) 24 June *In die*; (183^r) 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli*; (184^r) 28 June *In vig Petri et Pauli*; Eodem die *Leonis pp*; (185^r) 29 June *In die ipsorum*; (186^r) 2 July *Processi et Martiniani*; (186^v) 4 July *Transl s Martini ep*; (187^v) 10 July *Septem fratrum*; 11 July *Transl s Benedicti*; (188^r) 21 July *Praxedis*; (188^v) 22 July *In festiuitate s Marie Magdalene*; 23 July *Apollinaris ep et m*; (189^r) 25 July *Iacobi ap*; (189^v) Eodem [die] *Christofori et Cucuf[atis]*; 29 July *Felicis Symplicii Faustini et Beatricis*; (190^r) *Felicis cf*; 30 July *Abdon et Sennen*; (190^v) 1 Aug. *Ad vincula s Petri ap*; 2 Aug. *Stephani pp*; (191^r) 3 Aug. *In Inuentione s Stephani prothom*; (191^v) (In the upper margin, same hand, red ink:) 6 Aug. *Transfiguratio domini* missa require in capite libri; 6 Aug. *Sixti pp*; Eodem die *Felicissimi et Agapiti*; 7 Aug. *Donati ep*; (192^r) 8 Aug. *Cyriaci c.s.s*; (192^v) 9 Aug. *Vig s Laurentii m*; (193^r) 10 Aug. *In die*; (193^v) 11 Aug. *Tyburcii m*; (194^r) 13 Aug. *Ypoliti m*; 14 Aug. *Eusebii cf*; Eodem die *vig Assumptionis s Marie*; (195^v) 17 Aug. *Octabas s Laurentii*; (196^r) 18 Aug. *Agapiti m*; 19 Aug. *Magni m*; 22 Aug. *Tymothei et Symphoriani*; (196^v) *In oct s Marie*; 24 Aug. *Bartholomei ap*; (197^r) Eodem die *Audoeni ep et cf*; 27 Aug. *Rufi m*; 28 Aug. *Hermetis et Iuliani*; (197^v) *Augustini ep et cf*; 29 Aug. *Sabine v*; (198^r) *In Decollatione s Iohannis Baptiste*; (198^v) 30 Aug. *Felicis et Adaucti*; 1 Sept. *Egidii ab*; (199^r) Eodem die *Prisci m*; 8 Sept. *In nat s Marie*; (200^r) Eodem die *Adriani m*; 13 Sept. *Maurilii cf*; 9 Sept. *Gorgonii m*; (200^v) 11 Sept. *Prothi et Iacincti m*; 14 Sept. *Cornelii et Cypriani mm*; Eodem die *Exaltatio s Crucis*; (201^r) 15 Sept. *Nichomedis m*; (201^v) 16 Sept. *Eufemie v*; *Lucie et Geminiani*; (202^r) 21 Sept. *Mathei ap*; (202^v) 22 Sept. *Maurici c.s.s*; 27 Sept. *Cosme et Damiane*; 29 Sept. *Michaelis arch*; (203^v) 30 Sept. *Iheronimi presb*; (204^r) 1 Oct. *Remigii Germani et Vadasti*; 2 Oct. *Leodegarii*; (204^v) 7 Oct. *Marci pp*; *Marcelli et Apulei Sergi et B[achi]*; (205^r) 9 Oct. *Dyonisii c.s.s*; 14 Oct. *Calixti pp*; 18 Oct. *Luce ev*; (205^v) 27 Oct. *In vig app Symonis et Iude*; 28 Oct. *In die*; (206^r) 31 Oct. *Vig omnium ss*; (206^v) Eodem die *Quintini m*; 1 Nov. *In die*; (207^v) 8 Nov. *Quattuor coronatorum*; 9 Nov. *Theodori m*; (Add: in the lower margin, Italian hand, 14th c.) 6 Nov. *Leonardi cf*; (208^r) 11 Nov. *Martini cf*; (208^v) Eodem die *Menne*; 13 Nov. *Briccii ep*; (209^r) 18 Nov. *In oct s Martini*; 22 Nov. *Cecile v*; (209^v) 23 Nov. *De s Clemente pp*; Eodem die *Felicitatis m*; (210^r) 24 Nov. *Grisogoni m*; 25 Nov. *Catherine v*; 29 Nov. *Saturnini m*; *In vig s Andree ap*; (211^r) 30 Nov. *In die*; (211^v) 1 Dec. *Crisanti et Darie*; 6 Dec. *Nicholai ep et cf*; (212^r) 7 Dec. *In oct s Andree*; 11 Dec. *Damasi pp*; 13 Dec. *Lucie v*; (212^v) 21 Dec. *Thome ap.*

6. (f. 212^v-237^r) Commune sanctorum
(212^v) In vig unius apostoli. [Intr.] *Ego autem sicut oliua...* - (216^r) [In unius v non m.] Postcom. *Hec nos quesumus gratia semper exerceat...commemoratione letificet. Per.*
(213^r) In die; (213^v) Nat unius m et ep; (214^r) In unius m non pont; (215^r) In nat unius cf et pont; In unius cf non pont; In unius cf ab; (215^v) In nat plurimorum cff; De una v; (216^r) In unius v non m.

7. (f. 216^r-217^r) In dedicatione ecclesiae
(216^r) In dedicatione ecclesie vel templi. *Terribilis est locus iste...* - (217^r) Postcom. *Deus qui ecclesiam tuam sponsam vocare dignatus es...peruenire mereatur. Qui viuis.*

8. (f. 217^r-230^r) Missae diversae
(217^r) De s Trinitate. [Intr.] *Benedicta sit s Trinitas...* - (230^r) [Coniunctio et benedictio sponsi et sponse.] Alia bn. *Benedicat vos deus pater qui trinus est in numero et unus in nomine.*
(217^r) De angelis; (217^v) Feria iii ad postulandam s sapientiam; (218^r) Feria v ad postulandam s spiritus gratiam; (218^v) Feria v ad petendum spiritus sancti donum; Feria vi de s cruce; (219^r) Sabbato [in aduentu domini]; (219^v) In commmoratione s saluatoris; (220^r) De omnibus ss; (220^r) Pro episcopis et abbatis; Pro summo pastore et episcopo; Pro rege; (221^r) Pro episcopo; Missa propria sacerdotis; (221^v) Pro pace; (222^r) Pro pace ecclesie; Pro temptatione; Pro peticione lacrimarum; (222^v) Pro amico; (224^r) Pro quacunque tribulatione; Pro concordia fratrum; De sancto cuius reliquie in ecclesia continentur; Pro congregatione fidelium; (224^v) Pro his qui nobis confessi sunt pecata; (225^r) Pro tribulatione amici; (225^v) Pro infirmo; Pro iter agentibus; (226^r) Contra raptores; (226^v) Pro timore mortalitatis; In tempore belli; Ad pluuiam postulandam; (227^r) Pro aeris serenitate; Pro renuntiantibus; Pro illo qui appropinquat morti; (227^v) Missa generalis pro viuis ac defunctis; Item missa generalis; (Add: cursive 14th-c. hand, in the margin) Or. ad poscenda suffragia. *A cunctis...* (see below no. 12a); (228^v) Coniunctio et bn sponsi et sponse.

9. (f. 230^r) Exorcismus salis
(230^r) Exorcismus salis. *Exorcizo te creatura salis...* - (231^r) [Ante portas ecclesie.] *Via sanctorum omnium domine I.C. qui ad te venientibus...mereantur introire. Saluator mundi qui cum patre et spiritu sancto.*

10. (f. 231^r-233^v) Ordo ad visitandum infirmum
(231^r) Ad visitandum infirmum. Quando visitandus est infirmus conueniant fratres in chorum... - (233^v) Or. *Diri vulneris nouitate percussi...aggregari iubeas. Qui...Saluator.*

11. (f. 233^{v}-236^{v}) Missae pro defunctis
(233^{v}) Officium mortuorum. *Requiem eternam...* - (236^{v}) [Missa generalis.] Secundum Iohannem. *I.i.t.d.I.d.s. et turbis Iudeorum. Sicut enim pater suscitat mortuos…a morte in vitam.*
(234^{v}) Pro ep defuncto; (235^{r}) Pro sacerdote defuncto; Pro defunctis; Pro femina defuncta; (235^{v}) In anniuersario defuncti; Pro fratribus congregationis; Pro benefactoribus nostris defunctis; (236^{r}) Pro patre et matre; (236^{v}) Missa generalis.

12. (f. 236^{v}-237^{v}) Additiones, 13th c.
a. (236^{v}) Collecta. *A cunctis...* (*PL* CCXVII col. 917-18; VAN DIJK, *The Ordinal*, p. XXIX n. 8, 152; VAN DIJK, *Sources*, II p. 321 no. 9).
b. (237^{v}) Different hand: [Prosa in Assumptione BMV.] *Salue mater saluatoris | Vas electum, vas honoris...* (*RH* no. 18051; *AH* 54 no. 245).

237 f. Parchment. Brown ink. F. 96-99 black ink. 261 × 175 mm (200 × 135 mm), 33 long lines (f. 9^{r}). Collation: gatherings of 8 leaves. Ruling with dry point. Catchwords. Fourteenth/fifteenth-century marginal and interlinear notes, mainly correcting and supplementing the text, and folio numbering in the upper margin of the rectos. Norman minuscule. Small quadratic Norman notation on staves of four black lines; see *Graduel Romain*, II p. 85; *Paléographie musicale*, ed. Bénédictins de Solesmes, Solesmes, 1889-, II pl. 44 ; M. HUGLO, Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés, in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. RUHNKE, Kassel, 1967, p. 121-33, at 126 («Normandie»); Sources, in *The New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 29 vols, London, 2001, XXIII p. 838 (12th-13th c.). Ebner dates sec. XII ex.; Arnese dates «XIII» (a mistake for XII) sec. not after 1173; Folda *c.*1200.
DECORATION: Two full-page miniatures, on f. 96^{v} the Crucifixion and on f. 97^{r} the *Maiestas Domini*; 15 illuminated initials, including, on f. 95^{r} a six-line initial 'D' containing a medallion portrait of Christ and on f. 97^{v} the initial 'P' of the preface; see BUCHTHAL pl. 49a-f, 50a-g, and 51a-b. Other initials are supplied in green, red, yellow, or azure.
BINDING: Twentieth-century blind-tooled (double fillets) burgundy leather over wooden boards, with two metal clasps and catches and five bosses on each cover. «438» printed on a rectangular label at head of upper cover. «Missale» gold-tooled at head of the spine. Bound in 1971 by the Restoration Centre of Badia di Grottaferrata; label pasted onto rear pastedown: «Badia di Grottaferrata, Monumento Nazionale. Roma, Laboratorio di restauro del libro 30.VI.1971». 292 × 210 × 57 mm.
ORIGIN: Acre?
PROVENANCE: Acre, Canons of the Holy Sepulchre.

OWNERSHIP: Probably Troia, Canons of the Holy Sepulchre; see DE ROZIÈRE no. 16, 17, 20 etc. Emilio Giacomo Cavalieri (1663-1726), Bishop of Troia (1694-1726); book-label dated 1694 with the motto: «Ignea rapit virtus» and his arms: in chief three etoiles, or(?), a horse rampant, sable(?); see EUBEL V p. 392; G. ROSSI, *Della vita di Mons. Emilio Giacomo Cavalieri…vescovo di Troja…libri quattro* (Naples, 1741). Transferred in 1788 to the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples by order of Ferdinand IV Bourbon; on front pastedown oval book-label: «I | Napoli | Nazionale»; see ARNESE p. 21.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: EBNER p. 118-20; F. CARTA, C. CIPOLLA, and C. FRATI, *Monumenta Paleographica Sacra. Atlante paleografico-artistico compilato sui manoscritti esposti in Torino alla Mostra d'Arte sacra nel 1898*, Turin, 1899, p. 16, pl. xlviii; BUCHTHAL p. 143 no. 8; R. ARNESE, *I codici notati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, Florence, 1967 (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 47), p. 21-4, 132-7 no. 29; GRÉGOIRE p. 544; D. HILEY, Quanto c'è di normanno nei tropari siculo-normanni?, in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 18, 1983, p. 3-28, at 24-5; FOLDA, *I manoscritti miniati*, p. 302; MINERVINI p. 86.

HS[7] **BREVIARIUM,** *c.1200*

Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, ms. 5 Caesarea?

1. (Part I: f. 1^{ra-rb}) Computus
(1ra) Aprilis ut erunt epacte per totum ipsum annum...Numerus ebdomadarum a nat domini usque in xl cum epacta. Quando currit nulla epacta inuenimus... - (1rb) Tandem eum binis [***]sex dato [***].

2. (f. 2ra) Lectiones ix de miraculis s Stephani
(2ra) Augustinus de miraculis s Stephani. [Lectio i.] *Ad aquas Tabilitanas episcopo afferente Proiecto martyrum gloriosissimi Stephani memoriam veniebant viri magne...* - (3va) [Lectio viiii.] *Sequenti itaque die post sermonem redditum…testes fuerunt tuarum.*

3. (f. 3va) Lectiones vi de Assumptione BMV
(3va) De s Maria. [Lectio i.] *Duas in Christo recte confitemur natiuitates. Una de patre sine vitio...* - (5rb) [Lectio vi.] *Quam totam repleuerat spiritu sancti gratiam…non poterat videre largitorem.*

4. (f. 5rb-6vb) Commendatio anime
(5rb) Commendatio anime. [A.] *Subuenite sancti dei occurrite angeli domini...*; [Or.] *Tibi domine commendamus animam famuli tui .n. ut defunctus seculo...*; *Misericordiam tuam quesumus sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus pietatis affectu…et per manus sanctorum tuorum inter sanctos et electos tuos in finibus Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob patriarcharum tuo-*

rum eam collocare digneris...; O.s.d. qui humano corpori animam ad similitudinem tuam...; Diri vulneris nouitate perculsi et quodam modo cordibus sauciati... - (6vb) [Or.] *Inclina domine aurem tuam ad preces nostras...iubeas esse consortem.* Per.

5. (f. 6vb-7ra) In confirmatione infantum
(6vb) In confirmatione infantum. *Deus in adiutorium meum. Domine. Gloria patri. All. O.s.d. qui regenerare dignatus es...* - (7ra) [Bn.] *Benedicat vos omnipotens deus qui ex nichilo cuncta creauit...effici mereamini amen. Quod ipse.*

6. (f. 7ra-10vb) Benedictiones
(7ra) Bn lapidis itinerarie; Consecratio lapidis; (7rb) Bn corporalis; Ad patenam benedicendam; (7va) Bn stolis; Bn stolis siue planete; (7vb) Bn ad albam planetam stola vel cinguli et casulas; Or. ad linteamina; (9ra) Bn crucis; (9rb) Bn crucis metallizate; (10vb) [Exorcismus salis].

7. (f. 11ra-12vb) Collectae
In vig app Andree, Mathei et in nat Mathie et Barnabe....Coll. (11ra) *Quesumus omnipotens deus ut b ille...* - (12vb) [Ss Marie Magdalene et Felicitatis.] Coll. *Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut b ill. soll[emnia].*
It includes collects for: *Sebastiani Marini Eusebi Vercellensis* (1 Aug.) *Quintini* (31 Oct.), *Hermetis atque Iuliani* (28 Aug.)...; *Fabiani et Sebastiani* (20 Jan.), *Felicis Simplici Faustini et Beatricis* (29 July), *Athanasii* (2 May), *Teud[or]u[?]*...; *Marcelli Apollinaris* (23 July)...; *Speusippi et Eleusippi et Meleusippi* (17 Jan.) *Felicis et Audacti* (30 Aug.)...; *Vincentii* (22 Jan.) *Cabilonis Marcelli Teodoriti* (23 Oct.), *Caprasii* (20 Oct.) *et Crisogoni*...; *Sixti Felicissimi Agapiti* (6 Aug.), *Crispini et Crispiniani* (25 Oct.); *Urbani pp* (25 May), *Arel. Cesarii Frontonis Elegii* (1 Dec.), *Sulpicii Policarpi* (26 Jan.), *Germani*...; *Stephani pp* (2 Aug.), *Euurcii* (7 Sept.), *Ignatii Cessatoris* (15 Nov.), *Austregisili* (20 May), *Syri*...; *Alexandri Euenti et Theodoli Valentini* (14 Feb.), *Nerei et Achillei et Pancratii* (12 May), *Marci et Marcelliani* (18 June), *Cosme et Damiani* (26 Sept.)...; *Tiburtii et Valeriani et Maximiani* (14 Apr.), *Nazarii et Celsi et Pantaleonis* (28 July)...; *Georgi* (23 Apr.), *Felicis Fortunati et Achillis Nicomedis* (15 Sept.) et *Reueri* (1 June), *Iuniani* (14 Aug. or 16 Oct.), *Iusti Tillonis* (7 Jan.), *Amasi* (4 Nov?), *Gonsaldi* (5 Nov.)...; *Vitalis* (28 Apr.), *Martini Adriani et Petri ep*...; *Menne* (11 Nov.), *Andeoli* (1 or 13 May), *Christofori Prisci Theodoriti* (23 Oct.)....; *Gordiani et Epimachi* (10 May), *Victoris et soc*...; *Calixti* (14 Oct.), *Victoris et Corone Genesii atque Genesii*...; *Cesarii Austremonii* (3 Nov.), *Benigni Eustachii*...; *Marcellini et Petri* (2 June), *Andochii Tyrsi et Felicis* (24 Sept.)...; *Primi et Feliciani* (9 June), *Ciriaci Largi et Smaragdi* (8 Aug.)...; *Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Nazarii Celsi* (12 June), *Nicomedis et Valeriani Agricole et Vitalis* (27 Nov.)...; *Cirici et Iulitte* (16 June), *Lucie et Geminiani* (16 Sept.), *Crisanti et Darie*...; *Abdonis et Sennis Mauricii* (30 July)...; *Processi et Martiniani* (2 July), *Germani et Remigi et Vedasti* (1 Oct.) *Amantii (or Aniani?) et Gregorii*...; *Agapiti Antonini Siluani Teodori*...; *Timothei et Simphoriani* (22 Aug.), *Valentini* (14 Feb?), *et Ylarii*...; *Saturnini* (29 Nov.), *Iusti Preiecti*...; *Clementis Leodagari* (2 Oct.), *Clari* (4 Nov.)...; *Laurenti Mauri Filiberti* (20 Aug.), *Lauteni* (6 Nov.) *Egidii* (1 Sept.) et *Columbani* (21 Nov.)...; *Iohannis ev Marci Ylarii Ambrosii Augustini atque Hieronimi*...; *Siluestri* (31 Dec.), *Genulfi* (17 Jan.), *Medardi Iusti Germani atque Bricii*...; *Benedicti* (21 Mar.), *Odinis Ma[g?]l[orii?] Odilonis* (1 Jan.), *Alredii atque Eparchii*...; *Iohannis Crisostomi Eucherii Basilii Lupi Iusti atque Marci*...; *Eusebii Iohannis ab Sori* (1 Feb.), *Eusebii Geraldi Austricliniani Alpiniani* (27 Apr.), *Valerici atque Leonardi* (6 Nov.)...; *Gregorii pp et Aquilini*...; *Leonis Taurini et Leotadii* (23 May)...; *Felicis Iuniani Amandi Pardulfi* (6 Oct.), *Martini ab*...; *Martini Gregori Nazanzeni* (9 May tr. 11 June), *Nicolay*...; *Prisce* (18 Jan.), *Potentiane Praxedis* (21 July)...; *Agnetis* (21 Jan.), *Eufemie* (16 Sept.), *Eulalie* (12 Feb. or 10 Dec.?) *atque Afre*...; *Agnetis secundo* (28 Jan.) *atque Cecilie* (22 Nov.)...; *Sabine Agathe* (5 Feb.), *atque Fidis* (6 Oct.)...; *Lucie* (13 Dec.), *Scolastice* (10 Feb.) *Florentie atque Radegundis*...; *Consortie Valerie atque Fauste*...; *Marie Magdalene* (22 July) *atque Felicitatis* (7 Mar.).

The saints are grouped according to the specific prayer which ought to be read for them.

8. (f. 12vb-15rb) Psalmi poenitentiales
(12vb) A. *Ne reminiscaris...* (Ps. 6; 31; 37; 50; 101; 129; 142) - (15rb) [Or. pro defuncto.] *Absolue domine animam famuli tui. Fidelium deus omnium conditor et redemptor. Requiescant in pace.*
(14vb) Bn sepulcri.

9. (f. 16ra) Additio, different contemporary hand
(16ra) Versus epi Cenomaiensis Cur deus homo. *[Ad]e peccatum que cumueniens oboleret...tartara merent* (HILDEBERTUS CENOMANNENSIS, *Cur deus homo*, ed. A. B. SCOTT, *Hildeberti Cenomannensis Episcopi Carmina Minora*, Leipzig, 1969, no. 40); De sacramento baptismatis eiusdem. *Hostia coniugium baptismus qualia primo...circumcisio iura* (ed. SCOTT no. 39 II); De sacramento coniugii. *Affines consanguineos conubia prima...nubere lege iubetur.* (16vb) De sacramento altaris. *Melchisedec domino panem...sacramenta redisse. Quibus prosit oblatio sacra. Tollimur e medio fatis urgentibus omnes...panis ymago manet* (ed. SCOTT no. 45); (17ra) De virgineo partu. *Sol aqua cristallus...carni red-*

det utrumque deo. De tribus missis in nat domini. *In natale sacro sancte sollennia misse...figura deus*. De triplici nostra mansione. *Trina domus nobis...gratia sola sumpnum* (*PL* CLXXI 1427); (17rb) [***]; (18ra) Absolutio penit[entium] in caput ieiunii. In primis dic[untur] vii psalmos penitentiales. *Domine ne in furore tuo...* - (18rb) [Or.] *Dominus noster I.C. qui dixit discipulis quecumque ligaueris... sempiternam requiem. Amen.*

10. (f. 18vb) Cronica
(18vb) Anno ab incarnatione dni M.XC.VII Nicena urbs capit[ur]. Anno M.XC.VIII Antiochia capitur. Anno M.XC.VIIII Iherusalem capitur. Anno M.C.I Ces[area] capitur. Anno M.C.IIII Acon capitur. Anno M.C.IX Tripolis capitur. Anno M.C.X. Beritus capitur et Sydonia eodem anno. Anno M.C.XVIII Balduinus primus rex obiit. Anno M.C.XXIIII Tyrus capitur (*Stephanii Baluzii miscellaneorum liber primus* [-septimus], ed. G. D. MANSI, Lucca, 1761-64, p. 432, repr. in *RHC Occ* V p. 370; see also KOHLER p. 384.)

11. (f. 19ra-57ra) Psalterium
(19ra) *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum...* - (57ra) [Or.] *Deus refugium nostrum et virtus adesto...efficaciter consequamur. Per.*
(54vb) [Litaniae sanctorum.] Kyrieleison... *Stephane, Line, Clete, Clemens, Sixte, Corneli, Cypriane, Marcel, Laurenti, Vincenti, Eutropi* (bp of Orange or of Saintes), *Georgi, Dionisi c.s.t., Maurici c.s.t., Eustachi c.s.t., Hyrene c.s.t., Nichasi c.s.t.* (bp of Rouen), *Luciane c.s.t.* (bp of Beauvais), *Marcelline et Petri, Gervasi et Protasi, Fabiane et Sebastiane, Cosme et Damiane, Tyburci et Valeriane, Valentine, Simphoriane, Quintine, Christofore, Vitalis, Nicomedis, Appollinaris, Romane, Benigne, Theodore, Demetri, Saturnine, Adriane, Menne, Agapite, Urbane, Antonine* (Martyres); *Silvester, Leo, Hylari, Martine, Gregori, Ambrosi, Augustine, Ieronime, Taurine* (bp of Evreux), *Germane, Nicholae, Auberte* (bp of Avranches or of Cambrai), *Romane, Audoene* (bp of Rouen), *Iuliane, Samson* (bp of Dol), *Sulpici, Eusebi, Bibiane* (bp of Saintes), *Melane* (bp of Rouen), *Albini* (bp of Angers), *Remigi, Maurili* (bp of Angers), *Laude* (bp of Coutances), *Medarde, Gildarde, Amande, Vedaste* (Confessores et Pontifices); *Benedicte, Leonarde, Arseni, Machari, Antoni, Macute, Maxente, Maiole, Maure, Placide, Benigne, Columbane, Philiberte* (Monachi et Heremitae); *Maria Magdalene, Maria Egyptiaca, Felicitas, Perpetua, Petronilla, Agatha, Agnes, Cecilia, Lucia, Scolastica, Genovefa, Columba, Radegundis, Susanna, Euphemia, Margarita, Brigida, Emerentiana, Anastasia, Caterina, Prisca, Barbara, Marina, Praxedis, Iuliane, Fides, Spes, Caritas, Sapientie* (Virgines et Viduae).

(55rb) *Ut pacem...; Ut misericordia et pietas...; Ut ecclesiam tuam...; Ut domnum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesie...; Ut patriarcham Ierosolimitanum clerum et populum sibi commissum in sancta religione conservare digneris. Ut regibus et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris. Ut episcopos et abbates et omnes congregationes...; Ut congregationes omnium sanctorum...; Ut omnibus benefactoribus...; Ut animas nostras...; Ut fructus terre...; Ut oculos...; Ut obsequium seruitutis...; Ut miserias pauperum...; Ut locum istum et omnia loca sanctorum custodire atque sanctificare digneris. Ut iter agentibus...; Ut infirmis....; Ut cunctis fidelibus defunctis...; Ut nos exaudire digneris.*
(57ra) Ad vesperas. A. *Ecce nomen domini*. P. *Laudate pueri. Ierusalem respice*...Lectiones require in Epiphania.

12. (f. $57^{rb\text{-}vb}$) De ecclesiastico more legendi et cantandi
(57rb) De ecclesiastico more legendi et cantandi. *In septuagesima cantatur et legitur in principio id...* - (57vb) [In Epiphania.] *Lectio iii de Ysaia...celi.*

13. (Part II: p. 1-222) Proprium de tempore
(1) Dominica .i. de aduentu domini ad vesperas. Cap. *Qui venturus est veniet et non tardabit*...R. *Ecce dies veniunt dicit dominus...* - (222) [De Trinitate. Ad vesperas.] A. *Te deum patrem unigenitum...gloria in secula seculorum.*
(5) Dominica .ii.; (9) [Dominica .iii.]; (11) [Quattuor tempora]; (15) Dominica .iiii.; (57) Ylarii; (76) Dominica in septuagesima; (79) [Dominica in sexagesima]; (82) Dominica in quinquagesima; (91) [Dominica I in quadragesima]; (134) Feria V; (138) [Feria VI]; (141) Sabbato sancto; (155) Dominica prima post viii[a] Pasce; (169) In Pentecosten; (214) Dominica xxiii.

14. (p. 222-26) In dedicatione ecclesiae
(222) Dedicacio ecclesie. Cap. *Unusquisque propriam mercedem...* - (226) [Ad vesperas.] Hymnus. *Urbs beata Iherusalem dicta pacis visio...translati in requiem. Gloria.*

15. (p. 227-380) Proprium de sanctis
(227) In s Siluestri. Or. *Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut b Siluestri...* - (380) [Thome ap. Lectio ix.] Or. *Da nobis quesumus omnipotens deus b Thome apostoli tui...deuocione sectemur. Per.*
(227) 14 Jan. *Felicis cf*; 15 Jan. *Mauri ab*; (228) 16 Jan. *Marcelli*; 18 Jan. *Prisce*; 20 Jan. *Fabiani et Sebastiani*; (232) 21 Jan. *Agnes*; (235) 22 Jan. *Vincencii*; (239) 25 Jan. *Conuersio s Pauli*; (Add:) *Pregecti*; (243) 28 Jan. *Agnetis [II]*; 2 Feb. *Purificacio s Marie*; (Add:) *Iulianum*; (248) 5 Feb. *Agathe*; (Add:) 3 Feb. *Blasii*; (250) (Add:) 10

Feb. *Scolastice*; (251) 14 Feb. *Valentini*; 22 Feb. *Cathedra s Petri*; (Add:) 6 Feb. *Vedasti et Amandi*; (253) 25 Mar. *Annunciacio s Marie*; (256) 2 Apr. *Marie Egyptiace*; 23 Apr. *Georgii*; (258) 28 Apr. *Vitalis*; 1 May *Philippi et Iacobi*; (259) 3 May *Inuencio s Crucis*; (261) 6 May *Iohannis ap*; 8 May *Victor*; 10 May *Gordiani et aliorum*; 12 May *Nerei et Achillei*; 19 May *Potenciane*; 25 May *Vrbani pp*; 26 May *De s Augustino cf*; (262) 1 June *Nicomedis*; 2 June *Marcellini et Petri*; 9 June *Primi et Feliciani*; 11 June *Barnabe ap*; (264) 12 June *Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Nazarii*; 15 June *Viti Modesti et Crescencie*; (270) 23 June *Vig. s Iohannis Baptiste*; 24 June *S Iohannis*; (274) 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli*; (275) 28 June *Leonis pp*; *Vig. app*; (276) 29 June *[Petri et Pauli app]*; (281) 30 June *Pauli*; (285) 2 July *Processi et Martiniani*; 4 July *Martini*; 6 July *Oct app*; 8 July *Passio b Procopii*; (286) 17 July *Alexi cf*; (287) 10 July *VII fratrum*; 11 July *Benedicti*; 16 June *Quirici et Iulitte*; (288) 21 July *Praxedis*; 22 July *Marie Magdalene*; 22 July *Wandregisili*; (292) 23 July *Apollinaris*; (293) 25 July *Iacobi*; (294) 27 July *VII dormientium*; 28 July *Nazari et Celsi*; (295) 25 July *Cristofori m*; 29 July *Felicis et aliorum*; 30 July *Abdon et Sennen*; 31 July *Germani*; 1 Aug. *Petri ad vincula*; (296) 2 Aug. *Stephani*; (301) 6 Aug. *Transfiguracio domini*; *Sixti ep et m*; Ipso die *Felicissimi et Agapiti*; (302) 7 Aug. *Donati ep*; 8 Aug. *Ciriaci Largi etc*; 9 Aug. *Vig s Laurentii*; 10 Aug. *Laurentii*; (307) 11 Aug. *Tiburcii*; 13 Aug. *Ypoliti et soc*; (309) 14 Aug. *Eusebi cf*; 15 Aug. *Assumptio s Marie*; (312) 'require retro tres cartulas quia oblitus fui unam paginam'; (315) 17 Aug. *Oct s Laurencii*; 18 Aug. *Agapiti*; 19 Aug. *Magni*; 22 Aug. *Symphoriani*; 24 Aug. *Bartholomei*; *Audoeni cf*; (317) 27 Aug. *Rufi*; 28 Aug. *Hermetis*; *Augustini*; *Iuliani*; 29 Aug. *Decollacio s Iohannis Baptiste*; (320) 30 Aug. *Felicis et Audacti*; 29 Aug. *Sabine*; Ipso die *[Decollatio] s Iohannis [Baptiste]*; 1 Sept. *Prisci m*; 2 Sept. *Antonini m*; (321) 1 Sept. *XII fratrum*; *Egidii*; (324) 8 Sept. *Nat s Marie*; (328) Ipso die *s Adriani*; 9 Sept. *Gorgonii*; 11 Sept. *Viti(?) et Iacincti*; 14 Sept. *Exaltacio s Crucis*; Ipso die *Corneli et Cipriani*; (331) 15 Sept. *Nicomedis m*; 16 Sept. *Eufemie v*; *Luci[e] et Geminiani*; 21 Sept. *Mathei ap*; (336) 22 Sept. *Laudi* (bp of Coutances); *Florencii*; *Mauricii et aliorum*; (340) 27 Sept. *Cosmas et Damiani*; 29 Sept. *Michaelis*; (345) 1 Oct. *Germani*; 2 Oct. *Leodegarii*; 6 Oct. *Marcelli et al.*; 7 Oct. *Marci ep*; 9 Oct. *Dionisii*; (Add:) 30 Sept. *Ieronimum*; (349) 18 Oct. *Luce ev*; (Add:) 14 Oct. *Calixti*; (350) 28 Oct. *Symonis et Taddee(?)*; (352) (Add:) 31 Oct. *In vig omnium ss*; (Add:) *Quintini*; 1 Nov. *In omnium ss*; (355) 2 Nov. *Officium defunctorum*; (358) 1 Nov. *Cesarii*; 8 Nov. *IIII coronatorum*; 9 Nov. *Theodori*; 11 Nov. *Martini*; (Add:) 2 Nov. *Eustachii cf*; (Add:) 6 Nov. *De s Leonardo*; (363) 11 Nov. *Menne m*; Ipso die (13 Nov.) *s*

Brici; 11 Nov. *Transl b Martini*; (365) 22 Nov. *Cecilie*; (368) 23 Nov. *Clementis*; (369) Ipso die (21 Nov.) *Colunbani*; Ipso die (23 Nov.) *Felicitatis*; 23 Nov. *Clementis*; 29 Nov. *Saturnini* (music); 24 Nov. *Grisogoni*; 29 Nov. *Saturnini* (text); 25 Nov. *Caterine*; 30 Nov. *Andree*; (375) 4 Dec. *Barbare*; 6 Dec. *Nat s Nicolai*; (379) 21 Dec. *[Thome ap]*.

16. (p. 380-393) Commune sanctorum
(380) In nat app. Cap. *Iam non estis hospites...* - (393) [In nat plurimorum cff.] Hymnus. *Virginis proles opifexque matris...hic tua virgo dupplici beata sorte.*
(384) Plurimorum mm; (387) Unius m; (389) Unius cf; (391) In nat unius cf qui non est pont; (393) In nat plurimorum cff.

254 f. Parchment. Norman minuscule, several late-twelfth- / early-thirteenth-century hands. Part I: f. 1-58: brown ink, 291 × 200 mm (230 × 160 mm), 2 columns of 40 lines, written above top line, space between columns 10 mm (p. 3). Ruling with dry point. Part II: p.1-394 (392): brown ink, 291 × 200 mm (230 × 140 mm), 41 long lines, written above top line. Ruling with dry point; pricking in the outer margin visible. Modern pagination in pencil. Misnumbered: no page 147-8, therefore p. 149 should be p. 147. Collation: 1^{4} 2^{6-1} 3^{8} 4^{14-2}; $5\text{-}15^{8}$ 16^{6} $17\text{-}20^{8}$ 21^{6} $22\text{-}28^{8}$ 29^{6} $30^{2||}$. In both parts the gatherings are signed with Roman numerals in the middle of the lower margin of the rectos: i-xxx. 2° folio « u(?)t perageret ». Music on staves of four lines traced with dry point; see M. HUGLO, Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés, in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. RUHNKE, Kassel, 1967, p. 121-33, at 129 (« Italie centrale »). Buchthal dates to 1125-50; Mayer 12th c. but with reservations; Minervini dates *c.*1124.

DECORATION: Seven- to nine-line initials are supplied in red, green, or burgundy. Other initials are supplied in red in part I, in red or blue, sometimes with reserved-white decoration, in part II. On p. 11-54 capital stokes in red.

MS ANNOTATIONS: In the upper margin of f. 1ra in a contemporary hand: « simul iiii calices argentei et i aureum et iii calices qui sunt in ecclesia et tria turibuli| | ipsa una xi [***] marc. e[st?] reliquiis Iohannis Baptiste et s Ignacii et aliorum et [***]bis ad eorum altarem pauimentum(?) tubam(?) [***]enda [***] idoneo et canonico s[***] decorata pacem postere ». In the lower margin of f. 1^{r}: « Archiep. Luc. no. 9 » in brown ink, 16/17th c., plus oval stamp of the Arcivescovato.

BINDING: Seventeenth/eighteenth-century blind-tooled calf (fillets only); restored by the Vatican Library between 1922 and 1939; see note on a label pasted onto front pastedown: « Liberalitate Pii XI Pont. Max. in Bibliotheca

Apost. Vaticana resartum». «5» printed on a square label at tail of the spine. 310 × 210 × 55 mm.
ORIGIN: Caesarea or Acre.
PROVENANCE: Probably made for Peter of Limoges, archbishop of Caesarea (1199-1237).
OWNERSHIP: In Lucca by the eighteenth century, when it was studied by Giovan Domenico Mansi (1692-1769), Archbishop of Lucca (1764-69); see GAMS p. 741; *Mostra delle opere a stampa e degli autografi di Mons. Giovan Domenico Mansi (1692-1769)*, Lucca, 1969. It is unlikely that the manuscript was in Mansi's possession, as he left his books to the order of the Chierici Regolari della Madre di Dio of Lucca (or Ordo clericorum regularium Matris Dei; see *DIP* II p. 909-12), of which he was a member. The house of the order in Lucca, called S. Maria Corteorlandini, later became the Biblioteca Comunale, where Mansi's manuscripts are today found. However, Trombelli's note (see below) specifically states that the manuscript was in S. Maria Corteorlandini. In this case the manuscript should possibly be considered a gift to the archbishopric.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: BUCHTHAL p. xxx n. 5; H. E. MAYER, Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21, 1967, p. 141-232, at 144; OTTOSEN p. 154 («Jerusalem 1200-1220») and 302; MINERVINI p. 86.

Breviarium Hierosolymitanum, A Copy, 18th c.

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1201 (2376)

An eighteenth-century copy (*c.*1764-5, date of the last letter that Trombelli received from Mansi) of this breviary was arranged by Giovan Domenico Mansi, Archbishop of Lucca, for Giovanni Grisostomo Trombelli (1697-1784), abbot of the Canons Regular of the Congregazione Renana del SS. Salvatore, Bologna.

F. 1: Dominica prima aduentus – Lectio prima | Visio Ysaie filii Amos…
F. 7^r: Dominica 2. Ad aduentum domini ad vesperas. Cap. *Qui venturus est veniet…*
F. 350^v: Explicit: [Lectio 5 in natale plurimorum confessorum.] *Ex qua re premissa…nascente enim patre familias.*

F. 1-350 so numbered, with interspersed blank leaves, not numbered. Paper. F. 28-183^v in a different contemporary hand. F. 189-203^r another contemporary hand.
Collation: A^6 + 177 f. (probably in gatherings of 16) + B-Q^{12} R^6 (the last 3 blank). Leaves 1-6 and 189-350 present the signatures A-R in the lower margin of the first folio of each gathering, also a set of dots, from one to six, in the lower left-hand corner of the same leaf, repeated in the following six gatherings in the lower right-hand corner.

Gatherings A-R contain a transcription of the readings for most of the temporal, sanctoral, and common of saints (but it seems that non-Roman saints, sach as Laudus, Florencius, Germanus, Leodegarius, etc. have been left out). F. 7-183 contain a trascription of the musical pieces (capitula, responsories, hymns, and invitatoria).
The writer compares the text against a supposedly Roman Breviary, «ut in veteri breviario».
MS ANNOTATIONS: On front endleaf: «Aul. III Appendix Mss. 1096».
BINDING: Contemporary pasteboards, the spine backed with white paper; «225» and «Breviarium | Hierosolymitanum | Apographum | 673» in brown ink at the head of the spine; at the tail, «Ex Bib. S. Salvatoris» printed on a rectangular paper label and «2376 | 673» in black ink. 320 × 225 × 55 mm.
OWNERSHIP: Bologna, Canons Regular of the Congregazione del SS. Salvatore; see *DIP* II p. 100-101. On their library see M. G. TAVONI, Il patrimonio bibliografico a stampa della biblioteca del SS. Salvatore, in *Giovanni Crisostomo Trombelli (1697-1784) e i Canoni Regolari del SS. Salvatore*, ed. M. G. TAVONI and G. ZARRI, Modena, 1991, p. 71-87. On f. 6^r (originally f. 1^r) a note in Trombelli's hand: «Breviarium Hierosolymitanum | descriptum ex autographo saeculi XII | quod seruatur in Bibliotheca S. Marie | (Corte Landini) Luce, quod Breviarium | mihi commodauit Illustrissimus et Rev. Archiepiscopus | Joannes Dominicus Mansi». This manuscript appears in the topographic inventory of the 921 manuscripts of the monastery (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 4122), which, during the Napoleonic period, was used, annotated, and underwritten in 1796 by the French officers charged with the task of selecting manuscripts to be brought to Paris; see M. C. BACCHI and L. MIANI, Vicende del patrimonio librario bolognese: manoscritti e incunaboli della biblioteca universitaria di Bologna, in *Pio VI Braschi e Pio VII Chiaramonti. Due Pontefici cesenati nel bicentenario della Campagna d'Italia. Atti del Convegno internazionale maggio 1997*, Bologna, 1999, p. 369-475, at 452 no. 673 (225): «Breviarium Hierosolymit. Apographum. Cod. Chart in / folio rec. folior. 350». The presence of a cross and a circle next to the entry indicates that the manuscript was not taken to Paris. The congregation was subsequently suppressed in 1798. After the Restoration the order was reinstated and the collection stayed with them until the second and final suppression of the religious orders in 1866, when the books of SS. Salvatore entered the library of the Reale Università di Bologna.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. FRATI, Indice dei codici latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 17, 1909,

p. 1-171, at 35 («cart. Saec. xviii, mm 300 × 210, carte 350, n.leg m. perg.»).

HS^{8} **MISSALE**, *13th c. (before 1228)*

Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 6

Acre

1. (f. I^{r}-VII^{v}) Calendarium
(I^{r}) *Iani prima dies et septima fine timetur...* (SCHALLER, *Initia*, no. 7597).
Remarks: 11 Jan. (Add:) *Pauli primi heremite*; 12 Jan. (Add:) *Ygini pp et m Alexandri m*; 17 Jan. *Antonii ab et cf*; 24 Jan. *Timothei ep et m*; 29 Jan. (Add:) *Constantii ep et m* (bp of Perugia); 2 Feb. *Hypapanti domini*; 6 Feb. *Vedasti et Amandi*; 7 Mar. *Perpetue et Felicitatis*; 11 Mar. *Jerusalem XL mm*; 8 May (Add:) *Aparitio s Michaelis arch*; 12 May (Add:) *Cri[s]politi ep et m* (bp of Bettona, Umbria); 16 May (Add:) *Vbaldi ep et m* (bp of Gubbio, † 1160); 14 June (Add:) *Margarita v*; 2 July (Add:) *Visitatio Marie*; 10 July (Add:) *Paterniani ep et m* (bp of Bologna, 12 July, venerated in Fano); 12 July *Dedicatio ecclesie Acconensis* (12 July 1191 when the city surrendered to Richard Lionheart and Philip Augustus); 13 July (Add:) *Margharite v*; 19 July *Oct dedicationis*; 20 July *Margarete v* (erased); 5 Aug. (Add:) *Dominici cf et s Maria delaneue*; 9 Aug. *Romani m*; 17 Sept. *Lamberti ep et cf*; 23 Sept. *Tecle v*; 25 Sept. *Firmini ep et m* (bp of Amiens); 26 Sept. *Cipriani ep et m*; 4 Oct. (Add:) *Francisci*; 6 Oct. *Fidis v*; 7 Oct. *Sergi et Bachi mm*; 8 Oct. *Demetrii m*; 11 Oct. *Nicasii m c.s.s*; 19 Oct. *Pelagie v*; 23 Oct. *Seuerini ep et cf*; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani mm*; 31 Oct. *Quin-tini m*; 3 Nov. *Eustachii m*; 6 Nov. *Leonardi cf*; 10 Nov. *Martini pp et m*; 29 Dec. *Thome m Cantuariensis arch.*

2. (f. VIII^{r-v}) Computus
(VIII^{r}) Regule ad inueniendum aduentum domini...

3. (f. 1ra-307rb) Proprium de tempore
(1ra) [Dominica i aduentus domini. Intr.] *Ad te leuaui animam meam...*; Or. *Excita domine quesumus potentiam tuam et veni...* - (307rb) [Dominica xxiii. Feria vi.] Secundum Lucam. *I.i.t.d.I.d.s. Omni cui multum datum est multum queretur ab eo...mater in filiam et filia in matrem, socrus in nurum suam et nurus in socrum suam.*
(176ra) Letania [prima]. *Kyrieleison...Iohannes Baptista* (Patriarchae et Prophetae); *Petre, Paule, Andrea, Iacobe, Stephane, Line, Clete, Cle-*

mens, Siluester, Augustine, Leo, Gregori, Maria Magdalena, Maria Egyptiaca, Felicitas (176rb) [Letania secunda.] *Iohannes, Thoma, Jacobe, Philippe, Syxte, Corneli, Cypriani, Laurenti, Martine, Hylari, Nicolae, Iuliane, Agatha, Agnes, Lucia* (178rb) [Letania tertia.] *Bar-tholomee, Mathee, Symon, Thadee* (Apostoli et Evangelistae et Disci-puli domini); *Innocentes, Vincenti, Georgi, Blasi, Christofore* (Martyres); *Ambrosi, Ieronime, Benedicte, Antoni* (Confessores); *Catherina, Marga-rita, Iuliana, Fides* (Virgines); (180ra) Incipiunt prefationes totius anni; (181va) *Per omnia secula...*; (182^{r}) (Add: 14th-c. Italian hand): *Suscipe sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus hanc immaculatam hostiam quam ego indignus...*; *Deus qui humane substantie dignitate mirabiliter condedisti...*; *Suscipe sancta trinitas hanc oblationem quam offerimus ob memoriam passionis et resurrectionis...*; (182^{v}) (Miniature: Crucifixion); (183ra) [Canon missae.] *Te igitur*; (183rb) *Memento domine*; (183va) *Communicantes*; (184vb) *Nobis quoque*; (185rb) *Pater noster*; (186va) *Placeat tibi sancta trinitas obsequium seruitutis...propitia-bile. Qui viuis et regnas.*
(187ra) In die s Pasche; (213ra) In die Ascensionis; (219vb) In die Penthecosten; (233vb) Dominica prima post oct Penthecostes; (307^{v}) Blank.

The *ordinarium missae* is inserted between Holy Saturday and Easter day.

4. (f. 1ra-65vb) Proprium de sanctis
(1ra) Siluestri pp. Officium. *Sacerdotes tui domine...* - (65vb) [Thome ap.] Postcom. *Conserua domine populum tuum et quem sanctorum tuo-rum presidiis...gaudere remediis. Per.*
(1rb) 14 Jan. *Felicis in Pincis*; 15 Jan. *Mauri ab*; 16 Jan. *Marcelli pp*; (1vb) 17 Jan. *Anthonii ab*; 18 Jan. *Prisce*; (2ra) 19 Jan. *Marii et Marthe Audifax et Abacuc*; (2rb) 20 Jan. *Fabiani et Sebastiani*; (2vb) 21 Jan. *Agnetis*; (3rb) 23 Jan. *Emerentiane*; 24 Jan. *Thymotei ep et m*; 25 Jan. *In conuersione s Pauli*; (5vb) 27 Jan. *Iuliani*; (6ra) 28 Jan. *Agnetis secundo*; (6rb) 1 Feb. *Ignatii ep et m* (not in the calendar); 2 Feb. *In Purificatione s Marie*; (10ra) 3 Feb. *Blasii ep*; (10vb) 6 Feb. *Vedasti et Amandi*; 10 Feb. *Scolastice*; (11ra) 14 Feb. *Valentini*; (11rb) 16 Feb. *Iuliane v*; 22 Feb. *Cathedra s Petri*; (12vb) 24 Feb. *Mathie ap*; (13va) 7 Mar. *Perpetue et Felicitatis*; (13vb) 11 Mar. *Quadraginta mm*; 12 Mar. *Gregorii pp*; (14ra) 21 Mar. *Benedicti ab*; (14rb) 25 Mar. *Annunciatio s Marie*; (15ra) 14 Apr. *Tiburtii et Valeriani*; (15rb) 23 Apr. *Georgii m*; (15va) 25 Apr. *Marci ev*; (16ra) 28 Apr. *Vitalis m*; 1 May *Philippi et Iacobi*; (17vb) 3 May *Inuentio s Crucis*; (19ra) 4 May *Quiriaci m*; (19rb) 6 May *Iohannis ante portam latinam*; (19va) 12 May *Nerei et Achillei*; (19vb) 25 May *Vrbani pp*; (20ra) 2 June *Marcellini et Petri*; 8 June *Medardi et Gildardi*; 9 June *Primi et*

Feliciani; (20rb) 11 June *Barnabe ap*; (21ra) 12 June *Basilidis Cirini et Naboris*; (21rb) 15 June *Viti et Modesti*; (21va) 16 June *Cirici et Iulite*; (21vb) 18 June *Marci et Marcelliani*; 19 June *Geruasii et Prothasii*; (22ra) 23 June *Vig s Iohannis Baptiste*; (23rb) 24 June *In die*; (25ra) 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli*; (26ra) 28 June *Vig Petri et Pauli*; (27rb) 29 June *In die*; (28vb) 30 June *In comm s Pauli*; (30rb) 2 July *Processi et Martiniani*; 4 July *In transl s Martini*; (30vb) 6 July *In octabis app*; (31vb) 11 July *In transl s Benedicti*; 12 July *In dedicatione ecclesie [Acconensis]*; (33va) 20 July *Margarete*; (33vb) 22 July *Marie Magdalene*; (35rb) 23 July *Appollinaris*; 24 July *Vig Iacobi ap*; (35vb) Eodem die *Christofori et Cucufatis*; 27 July *Septem dormientium*; (36rb) 28 July *Pantaleonis m*; (36va) 29 July *Felicis Simplicii et soc*; (36vb) 30 July *Abdon et Sennen*; (37ra) 31 July *Germani ep et cf*; (37va) 1 Aug. *Ad vincula s Petri*; (38ra) 2 Aug. *Stephani pp et m*; (38rb) 6 Aug. *Sixti ep et m*; (38va) Ipso die *Felicissimi et Agapiti*; 7 Aug. *Donati ep*; 8 Aug. *Cyriaci et soc*; (39ra) 9 Aug. *Vig Laurentii*; (39vb) Eodem die *Romani m*; 10 Aug. *In die*; (40vb) 11 Aug. *Tiburcii m*; (41ra) 13 Aug. *Ypoliti cum soc*; 14 Aug. *Vig Assumptionis s Marie*; Eodem die *Eusebii cf*; (42rb) 15 Aug. *In die*; (44rb) 17 Aug. *In octabis s Laurentii*; (45ra) 23 (44va) 18 Aug. *Agapiti m*; (44vb) 22 Aug. *In octabis s Marie*; (45ra) 23 Aug. *Vig Bartholomei*; (45va) 27 Aug. *Rufi m*; (45vb) 28 Aug. *Augustini ep*; (46ra) Eodem die *Hermetis m*; (46rb) 29 Aug. *Decollationis Iohannis Baptiste*; (47rb) 30 Aug. *Felicis et Audacti*; (47va) 1 Sept. *Egidii ab*; (47vb) 8 Sept. *Nat s Marie*; (49rb) 9 Sept. *Gorgonii*; (49va) 11 Sept. *Prothi et Iacincti*; 13 Sept. *Maurilii ep*; (49vb) 14 Sept. *Exaltatio s Crucis*; (51ra) Eodem die *Lucie et Geminiani*; 17 Sept. *Lamberti m*; 20 Sept. *Vig Mathei*; (51va) 21 Sept. *In die*; (52ra) 22 Sept. *Mauricii c.s.s*; 23 Sept. *Tecle v*; (52rb) 25 Sept. *Firmini ep et m* (bp of Amiens); (52va) Eodem die *Iustine v*; (52vb) 29 Sept. *Michaelis arch*; (54va) 30 Sept. *Ieronimi presb*; (55rb) 1 Oct. *Remigii et Germani*; 2 Oct. *Leodegarii*; 6 Oct. *Fidis v*; (55va) 7 Oct. *Sergi et Bachi*; (55vb) 8 Oct. *Demetrii m*; (56ra) 9 Oct. *Dionisii c.s.s*; (56va) 11 Oct. *Nicasii c.s.s*; 14 Oct. *Calixti pp*; (56vb) 18 Oct. *Luce ev*; (57ra) 19 Oct. *Pelagie v*; (57rb) 23 Oct. *Seuerini ep*; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani*; (57va) 27 Oct. *Vig Symonis et Iude*; 28 Oct. *In die*; (57vb) 31 Oct. *Vig omnium ss*; *Quintini*; (58va) 1 Nov. *In vig animarum*; 2 Nov. *In die*; (59va) *Eustachii c.s.s*; (59vb) 6 Nov. *Leonardi cf*; (60ra) 8 Nov. *IIII coronatorum*; (60rb) 9 Nov. *Theodori*; 10 Nov. *Martini pp*; 11 Nov. *Martini ep*; (60vb) 13 Nov. *Brictii cf*; (61ra) 23 Nov. *Clementis pp*; (61rb) 24 Nov. *Grisogoni m*; (61va) 25 Nov. *Catherine v*; (62ra) 26 Nov. *Lini pp*; 29 Nov. *Saturnini*; *Vig Andree*; (63va) 30 Nov. *In die*; (64vb) 4 Dec. *Barbare v*; 6 Dec. *Nicolai*; (65ra) 7 Dec. *In oct s Andree*; (65rb) 13 Dec. *Lucie*; (65va) 21 Dec. *Thome ap*.

5. (f. 65vb-104rb) Commune sanctorum
(65vb) In vig plurimorum app. *Iacete in conspectu*. Or. *Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut sicut apostolorum tuorum...* - (104rb) [Officium de virginibus.] Secundum Matheum. *I.i.t.d.I.d.s. parabolam hanc. Simile est regnum decem virginibus...Vigilate itaque quia nescitis diem neque horam.*
(66va) In vig unius ap; (67rb) Incipit officium app; (71rb) Officium de euangelistis; (72rb) Officium plurimorum mm; (95ra) In nat plurimorum cff; (95vb) Incipit officium unius cf; (104rb) Officium de virginibus.

6. (f. 104va-120vb) Missae votivae
(104va) Missa de s sapientia. *Spiritus domini*. Or. *Deus qui corda fidelium*. Secr. *Munera domine...* - (120vb) [Or. pro infirmo.] Postcom. *Deus infirmitatis humane presidium...representari mereatur.*
(104va) De trinitate; (104vb) De angelis; (105va) Apostolorum Petri et Pauli; Pro peccatis; (107va) De cruce; (109rb) In honore s Marie et omnium ss (on erasure, add:) *A cunctis...* (*PL* CCXVII col. 917-18; VAN DIJK, *The Ordinal*, p. XXIX n. 8, 152; VAN DIJK, *Sources*, II p. 321 no. 9); (110ra) Ad postulandum spiritus sancti gratiam; (110rb) Contra mala cogitationes; (110va) Contra temptationis carnis; (110vb) Pro episcopo; (111ra) Missa generalis pro omnibus s ecclesie ordinibus et pro congregatione; (111vb) Propria pro sacerdote; (112rb) Pro amico siue pro amicis; (113rb) Missa generalis; (113vb) Pro pace; (115ra) Pro iter agentibus; (116rb) Ad pluuiam postulandam; Pro serenitate; (116va) Contra tempestatem; (116vb) Contra paganos in tempore belli; (117ra) Contra aduersarios ecclesie; (117rb) Missa generalis s Augustini; (117vb) Or. pro viuis et defunctis; (118rb) Ad nuptias faciendas; (120vb) Or. pro infirmo.

7. (f. 121ra-127ra) Missae pro defunctis
(121ra) Misse defunctorum omnium. *Requiem eternam...* - (127ra) [Missa uniuersalis.] Secundum Iohannem. *I.i.t.d.I.d.s. Omne quod dat mihi pater ad me veniet et eum qui venit ad me...habeat vitam eternam. Et ego resuscitabo eum in nouissimo die.*
(122rb) In depositione defuncti; (122va) Pro episcopo defuncto; (122vb) Pro patre et matre; (123ra) Pro congregatione; (123rb) Pro amico; (123vb) Pro femina; (124ra) In anniuersario; (124rb) Pro hiis qui iacent in cimiteriis; (124va) Missa uniuersalis.

8. (f. 127ra) Additiones
a. Different contemporary hand: In festo Magd[alene]. secundum Lucam. *I.i.t. Rogabat Ihesum quidam phariseus ut manducaret cum illo...* - (127va) *fides tua te saluam fecit vade in pace.*

b. 14th-c. hand: *A cunctis...* (*PL* CCXVII col. 917-18; van Dijk, *The Ordinal*, p. XXIX n. 8, 152; van Dijk, *Sources*, II p. 321 no. 9).

467 f. (Caleca); 452 f. (Mazzatinti); 445 f. (Folda); 455 f. = i + 2-8 (calendar) + 9-454 (missal) + i (ex informatione F. Tommasi). My foliation is based on examination of a microfilm and follows the foliation of the manuscript, which is not necessarily correct. Parchment. Black ink. 301 × 201 mm (205 × 124 mm), 2 columns of 27 lines written above top line (as confirmed by F. Tommasi; and not below top line as stated in Folda); space between columns 18,5 mm (f. 1^v). Collation: $1\text{-}2^8$ 3^{8+1} (the last) $4\text{-}10^8$ 11^{10} $12\text{-}19^{12}$ 20^8 $21\text{-}7^{12}$ 28^{10} $29\text{-}39^{12}$ 40^{10} $41\text{-}3^{12}$ (Caleca). Ruling with lead. Gathering number in the middle of the lower margin of the versos. Folio numbering in the middle of the upper margin of the rectos. Littera textualis. Square notation on red four-line staves; see *Graduel Romain*, II p. 115; *Paléographie musicale*, ed. Bénédictins de Solesmes, Solesmes, 1889-, II pl. 45. Buchthal dates 1250-75; Folda 1250s; Minervini follows.

Decoration: Full-page miniature of the Crucifixion on f. 182^v; five figured and several decorated initials; see Caleca and Buchthal pl. 57a, 58a-d, 59a; other initials are supplied in red or blue with blue or red penwork decoration.

Binding: Fifteenth/sixteenth-century blind-tooled leather over wooden boards, with one clasp and remains of another. «Mostra (?) antica arte umbra no. 718 Capitolare di S. Lorenzo, Perugia» on a label pasted onto front pastedown. 320 × 220 × 95 mm.

Origin: Acre.

Provenance: Acre, Church of the Holy Cross (Buchthal). Perugia, San Luca, Canons of the Holy Sepulchre (thirteenth/fourteenth century); the manuscript reached Perugia probably together with the archive of the order, already transferred by 1316; see Tommasi, *Fondi documentari*, p. 428-31. See also O. Gurrieri, *La chiesa di S. Luca ev. del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta*, Perugia, 1973; E. Coli, A proposito della presenza dell'Ordine del S. Sepolcro Gerosolimitano a Perugia e di un'epigrafe datata 1363, in *Militia Sacra. Gli ordini militari tra Europa e Terrasanta*, ed. E. Coli, M. De Marco, and F. Tommasi, Perugia, 1994, p. 203-18.

Ownership: Perugia, San Lorenzo, Biblioteca Capitolare. Probably acquired at the time of the suppression of the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre in 1506; see Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Fondo CC 17, Corporazioni religiose soppresse: San Luca (1432-85).

Old shelfmark: ms. 21.

Bibliography: G. Mazzatinti, *et al.*, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, vols 1-, Forlì etc., 1890-, II p. 175 no. 21; *Catalogo della Mostra d'antica Arte Umbra*, Perugia, 1907, p. 132 no. 18; *Museo dell'opera del Duomo di Perugia, Catalogo*, Perugia, [1923], no. 6; P. Toesca, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana. I, il Medio-*

evo, Turin, 1927, p. 1133 n. 11; *Mostra storica Nazionale della miniatura, Palazzo Venezia - Roma, catalogo*, ed. G. Muzzioli, Florence, 1953, p. 114 no. 157; I. Toesca, L'exposition de Rome, in *Scriptorium*, 8, 1954, p. 318-22, at 320 (mention: «nettamente veneziano, sebbene figuri come umbro nel catalogo»); M. Salmi, *La Miniatura italiana*, Rome, 1955, p. 30 and pl. xxvi; Buchthal p. 48-51, 107-21, 144-5; L. M. J. Delaissé, La miniature du royaume Latin de Jérusalem, in *Scriptorium*, 16, 1962, p. 348-52, at 350-2; E. B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, 4 vols, Florence, 1953-64; repr. London, 1993, IV p. 214 and 415; Boase, *Ecclesiastical Art*, p. 131-2; J. Folda, Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1291, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, 6 vols, Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969-89, IV p. 251-80, at 266; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 215; A. Caleca, *Miniatura in Umbria. I. La Biblioteca Capitolare di Perugia*, Florence, 1969 (Raccolta pisana di saggi e studi, 27), p. 79-82, 169-71; Folda, *I manoscritti miniati*, p. 302; F. Tommasi, Fondi documentari «ultramarini» in Italia: l'archivio del santo sepolcro da Acri a Perugia, in *Militia sancti sepulcri. Idee e istituzioni. Atti del colloquio internazionale tenuto presso la Pontificia Università del Laterano 10-12 aprile 1996*, ed. K. Elm and C. D. Fonseca, Vatican City, 1998, p. 420-36 at 428; Minervini p. 89.

HS^9 **ORDINARIUM**, *1202-28*

Barletta, Archivio della Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro, ms. s.n. Caesarea?

1. (f. 1^r-9^v) Additiones

a. (1^{r-v}) Fragment from a 13th-c. psalter: *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio...ego dormiui et soporatus* (Ps 1,1-3,6).

b. (2^r-3^r) Fragment from a 12th-c. prayer to the Virgin or a sermon: *|| lucida gemma virginum, mirabilis dignitas...Marie memoriam diligentibus ab eius filio sit pax et longa salus, ipso prestante qui vivit et regnat dies clarus, dies eternus in longitudine dierum. Amen.*

c. (3^v) 13th c.: Bull of Honorius III to the clergy of Apulia, Calabria, and *Terra Laboris* notifying the death of pope Innocent III, his election, and his firm commitment towards the Holy Land, dated Perugia, 25 July 1216. *Onorius episcopus, servus servorum dei, venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis, episcopis..., per Apuliam, Calabriam et Terra[m] Laboris constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Magnus dominus laudabundus nimis, gloriosus in sanctis...Datum Perusii, viiij kal. Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno primo*; (see A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum 1198 ad a. 1304*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1873-5, I p. 468 no. 5317).

d. (4^r-9^v) 13th c.: [Benedictiones.] In nomine domini incipiunt bene-

dictiones de toto circulo anni. Dominica prima de aduentu domini. *Omnipotens deus cuius aduentum et preteritum creditis...* - (9^{v}) [De resurrectione.] Alia. *Deus qui de diuersis floribus tuis semper exornas...tribuat quod oportet atque om*| |

22 long lines written above top line, Norman minuscule.

2. (f. 10^{r}-21^{r}) Computistical treatise
(10^{r}) Ratio qualiter inueniuntur indictiones. *Anni domini notantur in presenti linea. Cum misertus mundi deus, ad tollenda crimina natus homo, hic processit nostra ferens viscera...* - (21^{r}) *Quem ferie numerum tibi te notat .f. elementum* | *Ille sit tibi concurrens ipsius anni* (see KOLHER p. 393-4).

35 long lines.

3. (f. 21^{r-v}) Hec sunt vestimenta quibus solent indui canonici dominici Sepulcri in festiuis diebus
(21^{r}) In prima dominica die aduentus domini et per totum aduentum, nisi festiuitas occurrerit, casulas et cappas cericas nigras... - (21^{v}) festiuitas omnium sanctorum, omnium colorum, pannus altaris albus vel rubeus deauratus. Qui scripsit scribat, semper cum domino viuat (see KOLHER p. 394-5; GIOVENE p. 7-8).

4. (f. 21^{v}) Benedictio ramos palmarum et oliuarum
(21^{v}) *Deus cuius filius pro salute generis humani de celo descendit ad terras et, appropinquante hora passionis sue...tibi valeant apparere. Per dominum.*

5. (f. 22^{r}-27^{v}) Calendarium
(22^{r}) *Altitonans dominus douina gerens...Ianuarius habet dies xxxi...* (see GIOVENE p. 1-6).
Remarks: 11 Jan. (Add:) *Apud Brundusium s Leucii ep et cf*; 30 Jan. *Mathie* (cancelled); 6 Feb. (Add:) *Vedasti et Amandi*; 9 Feb. (Add:) *Sabini ep [Canusini]*; 12 Feb. *Eulalie v*; 18 Feb (Add: 13/14th c.) *Ierosolimis Symeonis ep et m*; 20 Feb. (Add:) *Barbati* (bp of Benevento); 11 Mar. *Quadraginta mm*; 18 Mar. *Ierusalem Alexandri ep et m*; 26 Mar. *Annunciacio [dominica]* (erased); 27 Mar. *Resurrectio domini* (erased); 4 May *Ierosolimis b Quiriaci ep et m*; 8 May (Add:) *Inuentio s Michaelis [in monte Gargano]*; 9 May (Add:) *Transl s Nicolai de M[yra] usque [Barim]*; 12 May (Add:) *Cathaldi [ep Tarentini]*; 25 June *Eligii* (erased); 30 June *Marcialis ep*; 2 July (Add: 13/14th c.) *Festum Visitacionis BMV*; 13 July (Add:) *Hic Obiit magister Bernardus*; 15 July *Dedicatio ecclesie Dominici Sepulcri* (erased); 20 July *Margarita ix lc*; 5 Aug. (Add:) *Dominici cf*; 6 Aug. (Add:) *Transfiguratio domini*; 8 Aug. (Add:) *Obiit Ambrosius*; 11 Aug. (Add:) *Obiit Bartholomeus*; 23 Aug. *Zachei ep*; 25 Aug. (Add:) *Beneuentum s Bartholomei*; 28 Aug. *Patris nostri Augustini ep DF*; 17 Sept. *Lamberti iii lc*; 23 (Add:) [***] *m^{o} ccc^{o} lx^{o}* [***]; 4 Oct. (Add:) *Francisci*; 6 Oct. *Abraham Ysaac et Iacob ix lc*; 16 Oct. (Add: 14/15th c.) *In Tu[m]ba Michaelis arch*; 25 Oct. (Add:) *Mauri pont [ep Vigiliensis], Pantaleonis et Sergii*; 3 Nov. (Add: in red) *Obiit venerabilis dominus Ridul[phus] patriarche Ierosolymitanus de ordine Predicatorum* (Raoul of Granville, patriarch of Jerusalem 1291?-1304); 4 Nov. (Add:) *Vitalis*; 15 Nov. *Cessatoris ep*; 19 Nov. (Add: 14th c.) *Elisabet*; 21 Nov. (Add: 14th c.) *Presentacio BMV*; 27 Nov. *Alexandri ep*; 1 Dec. *Eligii*; 5 Dec. *Ierusalem Sabe ab ix lc*; 8 Dec. (Add: 13th c.) *Conceptio BMV*; 17 Dec. *Lazari ep quem dominus suscitauit ix lc*; 29 Dec. *Thome Cantuariensis ep et m*; 30 Dec. (Add: 14th c.) *Rogerii ep Canensis*.

6. (f. 28^{r}-29^{v}) Computistical tables

7. (f. 30^{r}-33^{v}) Ecclesiastical computus

8. (f. 33^{v}) Additio, different mid-13th-c. hand
(33^{v}) [Royal oath.] In nomine domini, ego .H., rex Ierusalem domino auctore futurus, promitto tibi domino patriarche tuisque successoribus quod ab hac die ero vester adiutor et defensor et omnium personarum regni Ierosolimitani, et promitto deo et tibi| |

9. (f. 34ra-36va) Breviarium, fragment
(34ra) In nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. Incipit breviarium abbreviatum id est quoddam excerptum de pluribus libris secundum antiquam consuetudinem institutionum dominici ecclesie Sepulcri, partim secundum nouam [consuetudinem] legendi et canendi in eadem ecclesia, sicuti patres antiqui et priores predicte ecclesie, valde probabiles viri, communi assensu parique voto et bona discretione simpliciter ordinauerunt ac nullo contradicente firmiter tenere et habere pariter decreuerunt. In anno quo commemoratio dominice resurrectionis xii kl decembris euenerit... - (36va) missa matutinalis de ipsa festiuitate celebrabitur.

36 lines in two columns, red ink.

10. (f. 36vb-41va) Ordo legendi in refectorio
(36vb) Hec est consuetudo legendi in refectorio ecclesie dominici Sepulcri. A natiuitate domini usque ad Septuagesimam leguntur omelie euangeliorum et proprietates sanctorum...et in unaquaque ebdomada s Augustini regula legitur... - (41va) Sabbatum in ramis palmarum et nisi festum euenerit (see GIOVENE p. 12-4).

11. (f. 41vb) Cronica
(41vb) *Hec est cronica. Anno ab incarnatione domini .MXCVII. Nicea urbs capitur...Anno MCCII. III die martii fuit terremotus magnus apud Tyrum* (Chronicle of the Holy Land 1097-1202, KOHLER p. 400-1; GIOVENE p. 9-10; MAZZATINTI p. 119).

12. (f. 42ra-114va) Proprium de tempore
(42ra) In nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. Incipit breviarium abbreviatum id est quoddam excerptum de pluribus libris secundum antiquam consuetudinem institutionum ecclesie Sepulcri, partim secundum nouam [consuetudinem] legendi et canendi in eadem ecclesia, sicuti patres antiqui et priores predicte ecclesie, valde probabiles viri, communi assensu parique voto et bona discretione simpliciter ordinauerunt ac nullo contradicente firmiter tenere et habere pariter decreuerunt. Si autem aliquid hic de predictis consuetudinibus quod scriptum non sit defuerit, in fine libri huius queratur. Sabbato aduentus domini ad vesperas. A. *Benedictus dominus ipsum...* - (114va) Com. *Excita domine potentiam tuam* etc.

13. (f. 114va-140vb) Proprium de sanctis
(114va) 2 June *Marcellini et Petri* - (140vb) [Thome ap.] Com. *Da nobis domine quesumus b Thome.*
(114vb) 9 June *Primi et Feliciani*; 11 June *Barnabe*; (116^{v}) 26 June *Johannes et Pauli*; (119vb) 15 July *In liberatione s [civitatis] Ierusalem*; (120vb) Eodem die *Dedicatio ecclesie dominici Sepulchri quam sollempniter celebramus iuxta voluntatem et preceptum domini Fulcherii patriarche...*; (121va) 21 July *Praxedis*; (121vb) 22 July *Marie Magdalene*; (122ra) 23 July *Apollinaris*; 24 July *Vig Iacobi*; (122va) 25 July *Christofori et Cucufati*; 29 July *Felicis Simplici Faustini et Beatricis*; (122vb) 30 July *Abdon et Sennen*; 31 July *Germani*; (130rb) 13 Sept. *Maurilii*; (132rb) 25 Sept. *Cleophe disc*; (133va) 1 Oct. *Remigi atque Germani*; 2 Oct. *Leodegarii*; 6 Oct. *Patriarcharum Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob*; (135va) 29 Oct. *Ierusalem Narcissi ep et cf iii lc*; 1 Nov. *Omnium ss*; (136va) 2 Nov. *Vespere defunctorum*; (136vb) 6 Nov. *Leonardi*; (138vb) 30 Nov. *Saturnini*; (139va) 5 Dec. *Iherusalem Sabe*; (140va) 17 Dec. *Lazari*; (140vb) 21 Dec. *Thome ap.*

14. (f. 140vb-145ra) Commune sanctorum
(140vb) In nat app commune offitium. Ad vesperas. A. ps. secundum feriam... - (145ra) [Unius v.] Cap. *Liberasti me...ut prescripta sunt.*

15. (f. 145ra) Rubricae
(145ra) Ab octauis Pasche omnibus dominicis diebus usque at aduentum...

16. (f. 145rb-146ra) Missae votivae
(145rb) Missa de s Maria. *Salue sancta parens...* - (146ra) [Missa pro peccatis.] *Omnia que fecisti nobis*...Co. *Ab occultis.*
(145rb) De trinitate; (145va) Pro pace; Pro familiari amico; De caritate; Ad pluuiam postulandam; (145vb) Pro se ipso [sacerdote]; Pro captiuis; Pro iter agentibus; Pro amico (?); (146ra) Pro infirmo; Pro populo; Pro peccatis.

17. (f. 146ra-148ra) Ordo quando oratur pro infirmo
(146ra) Ad matutinas. Ad horas. *Beatus qui intelligit...* - (148ra) *...Requiescant in pace. Amen* (see GIOVENE p. 56-60 and KOHLER p. 431-3).

18. (f. 148ra) Quod fieri debeat pro canonicis defunctis ecclesie dominici sepulcri
(148ra) Anno ab incarnatione Domini M. C. XXXIII indictione XI, ego W. dei gratia Ierusalem patriarcha atque Petrus Dominici Sepulcri prior, canonicis eiusdem monentibus atque rogantibus, quod antecessores nostri, venerande memorie viri, gratia superna premoniti, constituerunt, nostre et successorum nostrorum saluti providentes, scriptis presentibus confirmamus. Cum fratrem nostrum... clamet in die iudicii. Fiat fiat amen amen.

Confirmation of William of Malines, patriarch of Jerusalem (1130-45), and Peter I, prior of the Holy Sepulchre (*c*.1130 - *c*.1148), of certain prescriptions related to the burial of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, dated [before 1 Sept.] 1133. Not in de Rozière; BRESC-BAUTIER p. 349-50 Appendix 2; see GIOVENE p. 64-5; KOHLER p. 433-4.

19. (f. 150^{r-v}) [Conventio]
(150^{r}) Vtilitati et honestati sancte dei ecclesie diligentiam adhibere cupientes...ego W. dei gratia patriarcha Iherosolimitanus et P. prior s Sepulcri et eiusdem canonicorum conuentus quondam fraternitatem ad animarum medelam et corporum venustatem Achardo priore Templi et domno Hernaldo priore Montis Syon et domno Henrico priore Montis Olivueti, assensu et concessione canonicorum sibi subditorum, satis conuenientem statuimus... - (150^{v}) ...celebretur fiat fiat amen.

Agreement of a bond of confraternity between William of Malines, patriarch of Jerusalem (1130-45), and Peter I, prior of the Holy Sepulchre (*c*.1130 - *c*.1148) on one side, and, on the other, Achardus, prior of Templum Domini (*c*.1112 - *c*.1136), Arnaldus, prior of Mount Sion (*c*.1117 - *c*.1138), and Henricus, prior of Mount of Olives (*c*.1130 - *c*.1145). Each institution undertakes to send a delegation to assist in procession to the funeral of canons of other houses; to celebrate the memory for seven days; to feed a poor for the same amount of days. The establishment of the bond of confraternity will be remembered each year on 16 March.

Dated 16 March [1130-36]. Not in de Rozière ; BRESC-BAUTIER p. 351-2 Appendix 3 ; see GIOVENE p. 66 ; KOHLER p. 434-5.
Long lines.

20. (f. 150v) Festa et Ieiunia

I was unable to transcribe this and the following sections of the manuscript, on account of the poor quality of the microfilm I was working on and to the extensive damage to the text itself. I therefore refer to KOHLER p. 435-7.

21. (f. 152r) Officia de BMV

22. (f. 154a) Ordo ad sponsandam mulierem

23. (f. 200v-201v) [Officium de Jerusalem] quando capta fuit a Christianis

24. (f. 201v-223r) Officia [de tempore et de sanctis]

25. (f. 223r-226v) Additio, 16/17th c.
(223r) [Officium s Augustini.] *Magne pater Augustine, preces suscipe...merito beata a nobis gaudia amen.* (223v) De s Maria Magdalena. *O beata Magdalena...in ali palacio.*

26. (f. 227r-229r) Regula s Augustini
(227r) *Ante omnia, fratres karissimi, diligatur deus...oret ut et debitum dimittatur et in temptationem non inducatur. Amen* (L. VERHEIJEN, *La Règle de Saint Augustin*, 2 vols, Paris, 1967, I p. 148-52, 417-37).

27. (f. 229v) Ordo ad benedicendum canonicum
(229v) Incipit ordo ad benedicendum canonicum. Finito responsorio, antequam incipiatur Alleluia, nouitius prosternatur ante altare... ; [Professio.] *Ego, frater N., offero meipsum diuine pietati seruiturum in ecclesia Sanctissimi Sepulchri domini nostri I.C., sub canonica regula s Augustini sine proprietate et in castitate viuere, et promitto obedientiam domino patriarche N. et successoribus eius, quos sanior pars congregationis eiusdem ordinis in ipsa ecclesia secundum deum elegerit...Absolue domine animas* (see GIOVENE p. 67-8).

28. (f. 229v-231r) Benedictiones
(229v) Bn salis et aque ; In sacrario bn ; Bn in dormitorio ; Bn in refectorio ; Bn in coquina ; (230v) In cellario ; In domo infirmorum ; Bn putei ; Bn in pistrino ; Ad introitum ecclesie oratio ; Or. ante locum Caluarie ; (231r) Or. retro sepulchrum.

29. (f. 238v) Ordo ad cathecuminum faciendum

30. (***) Ordo ad confirmandos infantes

31. (f. 245r) Ordo ad visitandum et unguendum infirmum qui proximus est morti (see GIOVENE p. 60-1).

(245r) Letania. *Kyrieleison...Ypolitus, Dionisius c.s.t., Mauricius c.s.t.* (Martyres) ; *Leo, Ylarius, Germanus* (Confessores) ; *Fides, Iustina, Eufemia* (Virgines).

32. (f. 249r-252r) Benedictiones
(249r) Bn vestimenti siue stole ; Bn ad clericum faciendum.

33. (f. 252v-264r) Officium BMV

34. (f. 264r-272r) Alia officia
(see GIOVENE p. 13-4 and KOHLER p. 399).

274 f. Parchment. 230 × 170 mm. f. 1-33, 153-274, 36 long lines (f. 33r) ; 34-152, two columns of 36 lines (f. 34r). Littera minuscula protogothica. Giovene dates script and notation to the late-thirteenth / early-fourteenth century, but a copy of a twelfth-century manuscript. Kohler, Wessels, and Buchthal date to 1229-44. Mazzatinti dates to the second half of the twelfth / beginning of the thirteenth century. Kohler describes as a Ritual.
MS ANNOTATIONS : Seventeenth/eighteenth-century note on front pastedown : « Breviarium patriarche delatum cum vene. Cruce ab anno MCLXXXIII, dico 1184 ». The front and rear endleaves (f. 1 and f. 273-4) consist of thirteenth-century fragments of a treatise on civil law, on parchement.
BINDING : Contemporary blind-tooled brown leather over wooden boards, with two metal clasps and catches. Restored in 1931. 250 × 200 × 70 mm.
ORIGIN : Acre.
PROVENANCE : Probably made for Peter of Limoges, archbishop of Caesarea (1199-1237).
OWNERSHIP : Barletta, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from an early date, see the additions of local saints to the calendar.
BIBLIOGRAPHY : Parts of the text and of the calendar are transcribed in *Kalendaria vetera mss. aliaque monumenta ecclesiarum Apuliae et Iapygiae*, ed. G. M. GIOVENE, Naples, 1828, p. 1-68 ; KOHLER p. 383-500 ; WESSELS II p. 95-9 (description of the manuscript), 118-26, 151-3, 188-95, 211-14, 242-7, 293-8, 315-20, 345-50, 377-85, 406-15 (extracts) ; G. MAZZATINTI, *et al.*, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, vols 1-, Forlì etc., 1890-, VI p. 118-21 ; BUCHTHAL p. 136 ; GRÉGOIRE p. 477 ; G. CIOFFARI, G. DI BENEDETTO, *et al.*, *I codici liturgici in Puglia. Archivio di S. Nicola e Archivio di Stato di Bari*, Bari, 1986, p. 357 no. 21 ; A. LINDER, The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem, in *Medieval Studies*, 52, 1990, p. 110-31, at 112ss cited as B ; MATTEO DE MEO, *Il Rituale di Barletta sec. XI-XIII* (Tesi di laurea, Pontificia Università S. Tommaso d'Aquino di Roma, Istituto di teologia ecumenico-patristica greco-bizantina « S. Nicola », Bari, a.a. 1998-99) ; MINERVINI p. 86.

HS[10] **PONTIFICALE**, *1203-10*

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, ms. G. V. 12 Tyre

1. (f. 1^{r-v}) Index of contents
(1^{r}) Bn. In vig nat domini. .I. - (1^{v}) Bn singularis sacri velamini .cxxiiii.
Arranged on three columns.

2. (f. 2^{r}-15^{r}) Benedictiones de tempore
(2^{r}) Bn in vig nat domini. [D]*eus qui in filii sui domini nostri I.C. humilitate iacente* - (15^{r}) [Bn] per totum aduentum. *Deus cuius aduentus incarnationis preteritus…donarijs sempiternis. Amen. Quod ipse.*

3. (f. 15^{r}-19^{r}) Benedictiones de sanctis
(15^{r}) In nat s Stephani prothomartiris. *Deus qui b Stephanum prothomartirem coronauit…* - (19^{r}) In nat s Andree. *Det vobis dominus gloriam crucis agnoscere…naufragio transeatis. Amen quod ipse.*
(15^{r}) In nat s Iohannis ev; (15^{v}) In nat ss Innocentum; In nat s Siluestri; [In nat] s Agnetis; (16^{r}) In conuersione s Pauli; In Purificatione s Marie; [In nat] s Agathe; (16^{v}) In cathedra s Petri; In nat Gregori; In nat s Benedicti; In Annuntiacione s Marie; (17^{r}) In Inuentione s Crucis; In nat s Iohannis Baptiste; (17^{v}) In nat app Petri et Pauli; In comm s Pauli; In nat s Laurenti; In Assumptione s Marie; (18^{r}) De s Augustino; In decollatione s Iohannis Baptiste; (18^{v}) In nat s Marie; In Exaltatione s Crucis; [Bn] de angelis; In nat omnium sanctorum; (19^{r}) In nat s Martini; In nat s Andree.

4. (f. 19^{r}-20^{r}) Benedictiones de Commune sanctorum
(19^{r}) In nat plurimorum app. *Deus qui nos in apostolicis tribuit consistere fundamentis…* - (20^{r}) In nat plurimorum vv. *Omnipotens deus intercedentibus virginibus…valeatis ingredi. Amen quod ipse.*

5. (f. 20^{r}-21^{r}) Benedictiones diversae
(20^{r}) Bn In Sinodo. *Christus dei filius qui est inicium et finis…* - (21^{r}) De quacumque tribulacione. *Deus mestorum solatium…in sue vos protectionis interritos securitate constituat amen. Quod ipse prestare dignetur.*
(20^{r}) In anniuersario templi; (20^{v}) In ordinationibus clericorum; in ordinatione episcopi; (20^{v}) In ordinatione regis; (21^{r}) De quacumque tribulatione.

6. (f. 21^{r}-123^{v}) Ordines
(21^{r}) Incipit Ordo qualiter ab episcopo sinodus agatur. Hora diei prima ante solis… - (123^{v}) [Comm animarum.] Or. *Deus cuius miseratione anime fidelium…in eo collocatum amen.*

(24^{r}) Ordo dedicationis ecclesie (in the margin, addition in a 13/14th-c. Italian hand, olive green ink:) «Incipit ordo ad benedicendam ecclesiam secundum morem ecclesie Romane…»; (26^{v}) Exorcismus salis; (27^{v}) Exorcismus aque; Bn aque; (28^{r}) Bn cineris; (28^{v}) Bn aque cum uino mixte; (30^{v}) Ordo quomodo reliquie sunt ponende in altari; (33^{r}) Consecratio altaris; (36^{r}) Missa in anniuersario dedicatione ecclesie; (36^{v}) Bn cimiterij; (38^{r}) Reconciliatio violate ecclesie; (39^{r}) Denuntiatio cum reliquie ponende sunt; (40^{r}) Consecratio altaris viaticis; (42^{r}) Bn crucis; (42^{v}) Bn ad orantium; Bn ad zonam; (43^{r}) Bn ad casulam; Bn ad corporalem vel ad pallam; Bn vestimentorum sacerdotalium seu leuitarum atque ordinatorum; (43^{v}) Benediccio (*sic*) corporalis; Bn patene; Bn calicis; (44^{r}) Bn ad capillos tondendos; Bn ad clericum faciendum; (44^{v}) Ordo ad clericos benedicendos… (45^{r}) …Letaniam. *Iohannes Baptiste*; *Iohannes precursor dei* (Patriarche); *Petre, Paule, Andrea,* (Omnis chorus apostolorum); *Stephane, Saturnine, Seuere* (Chorus martirum); *Siluester, Gregori, Martine* (Chorus confessorum); *Felicitas, Agatha, Agnes* (Virginum); *Ut pacem…*; *Ut misericordia…*; *Ut ecclesiam tuam…*; *Ut domnum apostolicum…*; *Ut pastorem nostrum…*; *Ut hos presentes clericos…*; *Ut cunctum populum christianum…*; *Ut cunctis fidelibus defunctis requiem eternam conseruare digneris.* (46^{v}) Ordo de sacris ordinibus; Ordo hostiarium; (47^{r}) Ordo lectorum; Ordo exorciste; (47^{v}) Ordo acolitorum; (48^{r}) Ordo qualiter in Romana ecclesia subdiaconi vel diachoni et presbiteri ordinandi sunt; (52^{r}) Ordinatio ad vocandum et examinandum seu consecrandum episcopum… (52^{v}) …*Reuerendissimo archiepiscopo N. Tyrensis sedis dignitate conspicuo, clerus et populus nostre ecclesie tocius deuocionis famulatum…*; (53^{v}) Ordo vel examinacio in ordinacione; (55^{v}) Qualiter episcopus ordinetur in Roma; (57^{v}) Bn baculi; Bn anuli episcopi; (59^{r}) Bn vel ordinatio abbatis… (59^{v}) *…Vis Tyrensi ecclesie et michi meisque successoribus subiectionem et obedientiam exhibere…*; (61^{r}) Professio abbatis…*Ego N. humilis cenobii beati ill. abbas promitto tibi, pater N., et successoribus tuis atque matri ecclesie Tyrensi debitam subiectionem atque obedientiam secundum statuta sanctorum patrum…*; (61^{v}) Bn super abbatissam; Consecratio sacrarum virginum (in the margins of f. 61^{v} and 62^{r-v} copious marginal notes on the consecration of virgins, in a 13th-c. hand, dark brown ink); Bn vestium virginum vel viduarum; (63^{v}) Bn ad sponsas benedicendas; (65^{v}) Percunctacio siue electio episcoporum ac clericorum nec non et laicorum ad regem consecrandum; (66^{v}) Consecratio regis; (70^{v}) Bn ad reginam; (72^{r}) Electio abbatis canonicorum; (73^{v}) Ordo inter exuendas vestes cotidianas; (74^{v}) Ordo post confessionem cum eundum est ad altarem; Ordo s Augustini; (82^{r}) Bn ignis in purificaclone

(*sic*) s Marie; (82^v) Bn super candelas; (84^v) Absolutio penitentium in caput xl; (86^v) Bn cinerum; (87^r) Exorcismus cineris; Ordo in ramis palmarum; (87^v) Bn florum vel frondium; Bn palme et oliue; (88^r) Reconciliatio penitentium in cena domini; (91^r) Ordo super sanctum crisma et oleum in die cene domini; (97^v) Ordo ad mandatum faciendum; (98^r) Bn ignis noui in vigilia pasche; Ordo ad cathecizandos infantes in sabbato sancto; (99^r) Bn salis; (104^v) In die sancto pasche; Bn super vasa in loco antiquo reperta; Bn putei; (105^r) Bn uue vel fabe; Bn ad omnia quecumque volueris; Bn ad fruges noue; Bn panis; Bn domus noue; (105^v) Bn capsarum in consummatione; (106^v) Bn cyborum vel umbraculi altaris; (107^r) Bn signi ecclesie (Add: I. campane); (108^v) Bn vexilli; Bn supra proficiscendos in itinere; (109^r) Bn ad peram; Bn quando datur ei baculus; Exorcismus olei vel bn ad omnem langorem in quocunque tempore; (111^r) Ordo ad visitandum infirmum; (111^v) Letania; (115^v) Commendatio animarum; (119^v) Bn sepulchri.

7. (f. 124^r-126^v) Additio, different contemporary hand
(124^r) Or. s Mathei ap in consecracione s Eufigenie v et sociarum suarum post imposicionem velaminum. *Deus plasmator corporum afflator animarum ...in offensum cursum viginitatis implere. Per...secula seculorum.* (125^r) Bn vidue que fuerit castitatem professa et sub habitu monastico inter sanctimoniales regulariter voluerit viuere. *Uidua soluta a lege viri...* - (126^v) [Missa in bn uidue.] Secreta. *Respice domine propicius ad hostiam seruitutis nostre tuo con||*

126 f. Parchment. Brown ink. 260 × 180 mm (178 × 113 mm), 26 long lines written above top line (f. 3^r). Collation: ii (parchment) + 1^{1+8} $2\text{-}15^8$ 16^{4+1} + ii (parchment). Hair side out. Ruling with dry point. Gathering numbers in Roman numerals between two dots in the centre of the lower margin of the versos. Original 2° folio (f. 3^r): «missione ditati». Contemporary folio numbering in Roman numerals between two dots, brown ink, in the middle of the upper margin of the rectos. 17/18th-century(?) folio numbering in the upper right-hand corner of the rectos. Norman minuscule. Dated by Mayer.
DECORATION: Initials are supplied in red or blue, sometimes with blue or red penwork decoration, sometimes interlocked red and blue.
MS ANNOTATIONS: «1192» in pencil on front pastedown (I). On the same leaf early numerical calculation in brown ink, probably seventeenth-century. On original rear pastedown (II verso): «||ATTORE DEL. ERE^{TA} DEL || ELZO TOLOMMEI IO || S. S.» in a seventeenth-century(?) hand, brown ink. Present shelfmark in pencil in the lower margin of f. 1^r. Copious marginal notes, mainly supplementing and providing corrections to the text, in a fourteenth-century(?) Italian hand.

BINDING: Twentieth-century (after 1967) limp parchment binding, by Guglielmo Vangelisti. 280 × 195 × 40 mm.
ORIGIN: Acre.
PROVENANCE: Tyre, Cathedral church, Holy Cross; see text on f. 52^v, 59^v, and 61^r. According to Mayer, written during the archbishopric of Clarembaldus de Broies or Brie (1203-10 according to Meyer; 1203-15 according to Hamilton p. 248-51, 253 n. 2).
OWNERSHIP: Siena, Dominicans, S. Dominicus, founded 1227, (beg. fourteenth century); see marginal notes in an early-fourteenth-century hand on f. 39^r and 40^r: «Dominus episcopus Senensis», «Dominus noster Senensis». According to Meyer, the manuscript was probably brought to Siena by the last archbishop of Tyre before the loss of the Holy Land, Bonacursus de Gloria (1272-95), a Dominican, probably of Italian origin. Siena, Accademia degli Intronati (1525-*c.*1751); seventeenth-century note in the lower margin of f. 2^r: «Biblioth. Acad. Senarum»; see M. MAYLENDER, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols, Bologna, 1926-30; repr. Bologna 1983, III p. 350-62. Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati: on the same leaf, circular stamp of the library: «Bibliot. Pubblica di Siena».
BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. ILARI, *Indice per materie della Biblioteca Comunale di Siena*, 7 vols, Siena, 1844-51, V p. 66 «Ceremoniale sive Ritualis Episcoporum»; H. E. MAYER, Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21, 1967, p. 141-232; MINERVINI p. 88.

Pontificale, A Copy, 18th c.

Bologna, Biblioteca of the Canons Regular of the Congregazione Renana del SS. Salvatore [no longer in place]

An eighteenth-century copy of this manuscript was prepared for Giovanni Grisostomo Trombelli (1697-1784), abbot of the Canons Regular of the Congregazione Renana del SS. Salvatore, Bologna. It appears in the topographic inventory of the 921 manuscripts of the monastery (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 4122), which, during the Napoleonic period, was used, annotated, and underwritten in 1796 by the French officers charged with the task of selecting manuscripts to be brought to Paris; see M. C. BACCHI and L. MIANI, Vicende del patrimonio librario bolognese: manoscritti e incunaboli della biblioteca universitaria di Bologna, in *Pio VI Braschi e Pio VII Chiaramonti. Due Pontefici cesenati nel bicentenario della Campagna d'Italia. Atti del Convegno internazionale maggio 1997*, Bologna, 1999, p. 369-475, at 455 no. 712 (259): «Rituale Tyrense exscriptum ex Codice membra / naceo Biblioth. Acad. Senensis. Cod. Chart. In folio / rec. folior.

193 ». The presence of a cross and a circle next to the entry indicates that the manuscript was not taken to Paris. An asterisk, placed by the librarian Andrea Caronti, indicates that the manuscript was no longer in place in 1866, when the manuscripts of SS. Salvatore were moved to the Biblioteca della Reale Università di Bologna. According to Caronti, 104 manuscripts, which had been in the library of the monastery until the Napoleonic period, were unaccountable (see BACCHI-MIANI p. 472).

HS[11] **PONTIFICALE Appamiense,** *1214-17*

London, British Library, ms. Additional 57528 Antioch

1. (II^{v}-III^{v}) Additiones
a. (II^{v}) 13th c. palimsest on a twelfth-century manuscript: *Beati Iohannis*
Baptiste intercessione cuius hodie natalicia celebrat[ur]...[B]enedicat nos
omnipotens deus qui nos beati Petri saluberrima commissione...beati Pauli...
b. (II^{v}) 13th c.: Quando episcopus parat ad celebrandam missam |
decantet hos psalmos. | *Quam dilecta* | *Benedixisti* | *Inclina domine* |
Credidi propter | *De profundis* | Antiphona. *Ne reminiscaris*. Kyrie eley-
son Christe Eleyson Kyrie Eleyson. | Pater noster. | *Ego dixi domine*
miserere | *Conuertem domine aliquantulum* | *Fiat misericordia tua* |
Sacerdotes tui | *Ab occultis meis* | *Domine exaudi*. Dominus vobiscum.
c. Different 13th(?)-c. hand: *Aures tue pietatis mittissime* | *Deus cui*
omne cor patet et omnis | *Ure igne sancti spiritus renes nostros* | *Mentes*
nostras quesumus domine | *Adsit nobis domine quesumus virtus* | *Deus qui*
corda fidelium | *Conscientias nostras quesumus domine.*
d. Different 13/14th-c. hand, dark brown ink: *O.s.d. qui coronam*
auream signo sanctitatis expressam...sic et tu sanctus sanctorum sanctitatis
ut sit | *ei hec honoris.*
e. (III^{r}) Different 13/14th-c. hand: Bn incensi. *O.s.d. cui astat exer-*
citus angelorum cum tremore...sanguine redemisti. Per eundem dominum
etc.
f. Different 14th-c. hand: [Bn super anulum.] *Creator et conseruator*
humani generis...vitam sibi proficiat. Per.
g. Different 14th-c. hand: Innocentii iii in eleuatione hostie. *Agimus*
tibi pater gratias premia beatificatis postulantes ut eorum apud te inter-
uentu adiuuemur...sanguis lauet et caro mundet domini nostri I.C. filii tui.
Amen.
h. (III^{v}) Different 14th-c. hand: *Pone domine galeam salutis in capite*
meo ad expugnandas diabolicas fraudes...Oremus. *Deus qui tribus pueris*
etc. Da nobis quesumus omnipotens deus vitior. etc.

2. (f.1^{r}-166^{r}) Ordines
(1^{r}) In nomine domine incipit ordo de septem ecclesiasticis gradibus.
In primis prefatio ad clericum faciendum. [O]*remus dilectissimi fratres*
dominum nostrum I.C. pro hoc famulo suo ill. qui ad deponendam comam
capitis sui pro eius amore festinat... - (166^{r}) [Bn cimiterii.] Deinde redi-
ens ad ecclesiam dicat hanc orationem. *Deus qui sacrandorum tibi auc-*
tores...auxilium sentiatur. Per dominum.
(2^{v}) Ordinatio hostiarii; (3^{r}) Ordinatio lectoris; (4^{r}) Ordinatio
exorciste; (4^{v}) Ordinatio acoliti; (6^{v}) Ordinatio subdiaconi; (8^{r})
Ordo qualiter in Romana ecclesia diaconi et presbiteri eligendi sunt;
(16^{r}) Incipit ordo ad vocandum et examinandum seu consecrandum
electum in episcopum iuxta morem Romane ecclesie; (36^{v}) Ordo ad
consacrandam sacram virginem; (50^{r}) Ordo ad abbatem benedicen-
dum vel abbatissam; (54^{v}) Incipit ordo ad benedicendam ecclesiam;
(75^{v}) Bn episcopalis super populum in dedicatione ecclesie iuxta
consuetudinem quarumdam ecclesiarum non tamen secundum
morem Romane ecclesie; (83^{v}) Bn planete dalmatice stole et aliarum
vestium sacerdotalium ac leviticarum; (88^{r}) In purificatione b
Marie; (91^{v}) Feria IIII in capite ieiunii ad s Anastasiam; (93^{r}) Ordo
in dominica palmarum; (98^{r}) Feria V maioris ebdomade dies sollem-
nis est, id est cena domini; (105^{v}) Feria VI parasceues; (108^{v})
Magno vero die sabbati sancto; (121^{r}) Incipit ordo qualiter Romanus
pontifex apud basilicam b Petri ap debeat ordinari; (122^{r}) Incipit
ordo qualiter rex Teutonicus Romam ad suscipiendam coronam
imperii venire debeat ibique per manum Romani pontificis impera-
torem coronari; (127^{r}) Ordo Romanus qualiter concilium agatur;
(132^{v}) Ad sponsam benedicendam; Bn anuli; (135^{r}) Bn lactis et mel-
lis in sabbato; (135^{v}) Bn casei et ouorum; Bn agni; (136^{r}) Item bn
agni et aliarum carnium; (136^{v}) Bn ad quemcumque fructum
nouarum arborum; bn noui panis; (137^{r}) Bn noui cibi; Bn uue;
(139^{v}) Bn pere; (140^{r}) Ad dandam peram; Ad dandum baculum;
(141^{r}) Incipit ordo visitationis infirmorum quando ingreditur sacer-
dos domum infirmi; (142^{r}) [Litaniae sanctorum.] *Kyrieleison...Iohan-*
nes Baptiste (Patriarchae et Prophetae); *Petre, Paule, Andrea, Iohannes*
ev, Iacobe, Thoma, Iacobe, Philippe, Bartholomee, Simon (Apostoli et
Evangelistae); *Stephane, Laurenti, Vincenti, Agapite, Alexander, Mar-*
celle, Georgi (Martyres); *Siluester, Leo, Gregori, Martine, Nicholae,*
Augustine, Ambrosi, Ieronime, Magne (M. de Trincheri, bp of Milan?)
(Pontifices et Confessores); *Benedicte, Maure, Basili* (Monachi et
Heremitae); *Felicitas, Agatha, Cecilia, Lucia, Agnes, Savina* (patron
saint of Lodi) (Virgines et Viduae); (156^{r}) *Deinde postquam anima*
egressa fuerit a corpore...; (163^{r}) Bn cimiterii.

3. (f. 167^{r}-192^{r}) Benedictiones de tempore
(167^{r}) Bn in vig nat domini nostri I.C. *Deus qui in filii sui* (*sic*) *domini*
nostri I.C. humilitate iacentem... - (192^{r}) [Bn per totum aduentum.]
Deus cuius aduentus incarnationis preteritus...donariis sempiternis.
Amen.

4. (f. 192^{v}-200^{v}) Benedictiones de sanctis
(192^{v}) Stephani prothomartiris. *Deus qui beatum Stephanum pro-*
thomartirem coronauit... - (200^{v}) In nat s Andree. *Det vobis dominus*
gloriam crucis agnoscere...naufragio transeatis. Amen quod [ipse].
(192^{v}) In nat s Iohannis ev ; (193^{r}) In nat ss Innocentum ; (193^{v}) In
nat s Siluestri ; In nat s Agnetis ; (194^{r}) In conuersione s Pauli ; (194^{v})
In Purificatione s Marie ; In nat s Agathe ; (195^{r}) In cathedra s Petri ;
In nat s Gregori ; (195^{v}) In nat s Benedicti ; In Annuntiatione s
Marie ; (196^{r}) In Inuentione s Crucis ; (196^{v}) In nat s Iohannis
Baptiste ; In nat app Petri et Pauli ; (197^{r}) In comm s Pauli ; (197^{v}) In
nat s Laurenti ; In Assumptione s Marie ; (198^{v}) De s Augustino ; In
decollatione s Iohannis Baptiste ; (199^{r}) In nat s Marie ; (199^{v}) In
Exaltatione s Crucis ; Bn de angelis ; In nat omnium ss ; (200^{r}) In nat
s Martini ; In nat s Andree.

5. (f. 200^{v}-202^{v}) Benedictiones de commune sanctorum
(200^{v}) In nat plurimorum app. *Deus qui nos in apostolicis tribuit consis-*
tere fundamentis... - (202^{v}) In nat plurimorum vv. *Omnipotens deus*
intercedentibus virginibus...valeatis ingredi. Amen quod.

6. (f. 202^{v}-204^{v}) Benedictiones diversae
(202^{v}) In Synodo. *Christus dei filius qui est inicium et finis...* - (204^{v})
[De quacumque tribulatione.] *Deus mestorum solatium...in sue vos pro-*
tectionis interritos securitate constituat amen. Quod ipse.
(202^{v}) In anniuersario templi ; (203^{r}) In ordinationibus clericorum ;
in ordinatione episcopi ; (203^{v}) In ordinatione regis ; (204^{r}) De
quacumque tribulatione.

7. (f. 204^{v}) Colophon and Verse
(204^{v}) Normandus scripsit hoc opus. *Missus ego venio vereor tamen*
ipse venire | Ne videar tardus sicque placere minus. | Perfectum volui non
imperfectus adire | Unde in ratio non mora causa more | Munus amicicie
vobis me misit amicus | Optans ut faciam quod minus ipse facit | Qui
seruire cupit vobis ut seruiat in me | Me seruiturum tempus in omne dedit
| Si gratus fuero nichil illi gratus a quo | Missus ego cuius gloria vestra
salus (5 elegiac distichs ; see *PR* I p. 41).

8. (f. 205^{r}) Additio, rounder contemporary hand
(205^{r}) Ego N. electus Valaniensis ab hac hora in antea fidelis et obedi-
ens ero sancte Appamiensi Ecclesie et domino meo N. eiusdem eccle-
sie archiepiscopo suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero
in consilio aut in facto, ut vitam perdant autem membra aut capiantur
mala captione. Conscilium vero quod mihi creditum fuerit per se aut
per nuntios suos, siue per litteras nulli manifestabo ad eorum damp-
num me sciente numquam ero. Pontificatum Appamiensis ecclesie et
possessiones et iura eiusdem manutenebo, et adiutor ero ad retinen-
dum et defendendum saluo meo ordine contra omnem hominem,
nuntios eorum in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo et in suis
necessitatibus adiuuabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam nisi prepeditus
fuero canonica prepeditione. Possessiones Valaniensis ecclesie non
vendam neque donabo neque inpignerabo neque infeudo de nouo, vel
aliquo modo alienabo. In consulto archiepiscopo metropolitano meo
Appamiensi male alienata pro posse meo requiram et recuperabo. Sic
me deus adiuuet et hec sancta dei euuangelia. Anno domini Millesimo.
CC. XIIII. VI die intrante decembre (see *PR* I p. 42).

Oath of obedience to the archbishop of Apamea by the bishop elect of Valania
(Bâniyâs), conforming to the official formulary elaborated in Rome at the time of
Gregory VII ; see *Le Liber censuum de l'Église romaine*, ed. P. Fabre and
L. Duchesne, 2 vols, Paris, 1889-1910 (Bibliothèque de l'École Française
d'Athènes et de Rome, 2e sér., 6), I p. 415 no. CXLVII : «Juramentum episcopo-
rum vel abbatum qui a Romano pontifice consecrantur ».

9. (f. 205^{v}-206^{r}) Additiones
a. (205^{v}) 14th-c. hand : Verse. *Dei mater o Maria | firma spes et recta*
via | te rogamus prece pia | atque votis teneris...Ubi tecum iocundari |
valeamus et letari | et cum nostro salutari | perfruamur gloria. Amen (15
strophes, not in *AH* nor *RH*).
b. Different 13/14th-c. hand, brown ink : Or. b Bernardi ab. *Per te*
accessum habeamus ad filium tuum dominum nostrum I.C. O beata et glo-
riosa virgo Maria...glorie et beatitudinis sue. I.C. filius...Amen.
c. Same text and hand of II^{v} [d] above : *O.s.d. qui coronam auream*
signo sanctitatis expressam imponi super mitram Moysi...fortitudinis in
aduersis. Per Christum.
d. (206^{r}) Same as hand [a] above : Mnemonic list of the books of the
Old and New Testament : *Sunt genes ex. le. nu...* Followed by : *Matu-*
tina celebrantur quia tunc Christus est- Natus | A Iudeis captus et illusus
| Ad iudicium venturus...
It continues with Laudes, Prima, Tercia, Sexta, Nona, Vespere, Completorium.

iii + 206 f. Parchment. Brown ink. 285 × 187 mm (175 × 110 mm), 19 long
lines written above the top line (f. 1^{r}). Collation : i-ii (palimpsest) iii, 1-25^{8}

26[6]. Hair side out. Ruling with lead. Pricking of the outer margin partially visible; pricking of the single vertical lines always visible. Gathering numbers in Roman numerals in the centre of the lower margin of the versos, catchwords in the lower right-hand corner of the versos. Signatures in the upper left-hand corner of the first four folios of each gathering in a contemporary or thirteenth/fourteenth-century hand. 2° folio: «gestare facimus». Norman minuscule («uncompressed Gothic *textualis prescissa*» in BL catalogue). On f. 204ᵛ: «Normandus scripsit hoc opus»; BÉNÉDICTINS DU BOUVERET, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIᵉ siècle*, 6 vols, Fribourg, 1965-82, IV p. 326 no. 14686 (Lyons, BM, ms. 570, see below); according to Wormald the same scribe of HS[13]. Buchthal dates 1228-44. Andrieu dates before 1214.

DECORATION: On f. 1ʳ a four-line illuminated historiated initial «O» is supplied in blue, green, yellow, orange, and red on a square gold ground, with the bust of an archbishop in the area defined by the letter; see BUCHTHAL pl.55a. Other initials are supplied in blue or red or gold, with red or blue penwork decoration.

BINDING: Modern leather over wooden boards, with pieces of the older, seventeenth-century(?) binding pasted on both covers and on the spine, with a manuscript title in a seventeenth-century hand, black ink: «Rituale Anni 1214». On the lower cover two scars from a four-petalled boss, at head and tail, also found in the last leaf of the manuscript as well, used as a pastedown. 303 × 203 × 68 mm.

ORIGIN: Acre.

PROVENANCE: Made for Peter II, patriarch of Antioch (1209-17). Sta Maria de Jubino, Cistercians.

OWNERSHIP: Cistercians of Chaalis, dioc. of Beauvais, then Senlis, (seventeenth century); see *DHGE* XII col. 260-1; M. ANDRIEU, Le Pontifical d'Apamée et autres textes liturgiques communiqués à Dom Martène par Jean Deslions, in *Revue Bénédictine*, 48, 1936, p. 321-48; the manuscript is not listed in the manuscript catalogue of the library drawn by Charles-Achille le Tonnelier in 1675, *Catalogus Catalogorum sive Elenchus manuscriptorum codicum qui hactenus reperiuntur in plurimis Europae Bibliothecis*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 4630, f. 24-46; however, no liturgical manuscripts appear to be listed. Abbot de La Croix (eighteenth century); «La Croix» in brown ink on the outer margin of f. 1ʳ. Not identified in his sale catalogue, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu monsieur l'abbé de la Croix*, Paris: Cloister of Notre-Dame, 24 Mar. 1738, which however does not seem to list any manuscript; see also F. BLÉCHET, *Les ventes publiques de livres en France 1630-1750. Répertoire des catalogues conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Oxford, 1991, p. 97.
Charles John Robert Hepburn Stuart Forbes Trefusis (1863-1957), 21st Baron Clinton; see *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great*

Britain and the United Kingdom, ed. VICARY GIBBS, 14 vols, London, 1910-98, III p. 323; «Clinton» in pencil on f. IIIʳ. His sale, *Catalogue of a selected portion of the valuable library removed from Bicton, Devonshire, the Property of the Rt. Honble. Lord Clinton, P.C. G.C.V.O.*, London: Sotheby & Co., 2-3 July 1946, lot 453 «Rituale Romanum, French, 15th century»; purchased by Francis Wormald through Quaritch for £ 72. Francis Wormald (1904-1972), Professor of Palaeography at the University of London 1950-60, Professor of History and Director of the Institute of Historical Research 1960-67; note on front endleaf: «Francis Wormald, London 1946». Presented to the British Museum Library in 1972 (one of seven volumes) by Mrs. Honoria Mary Rosamund Wormald, widow of Professor Wormald.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. WORMALD, The Pontifical of Apamea, in *Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 5, 1954, p. 271-9; BUCHTHAL p. xxxii, 47-8, 144 no. 11; WATSON (BL) p. 87 no. 426; P.-M. GY, La Papauté et le droit liturgique aux XIIᵉ et XIIIᵉ siècles, in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150-1300*, ed. C. RYAN, Toronto, 1989 (Papers in Mediaeval Studies, 8), p. 229-45, at 237; MINERVINI p. 86; *The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts. New Series 1971-1975*, London, 2001, 104-5.

Pontificale Appamiense, A Copy, *c.*1676

Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 570, f. 289ʳ-344ᵛ

A seventeenth-century (*c.*1676) copy of this pontifical was made for Jean Deslions (1615-1700), dean of the Chapter of Senlis (1638-92); see *DBF* X p. 1423; A. INGOLD, Deslions, in *DTC* IV col. 630; and M. ANDRIEU, Le Pontifical d'Apamée, in *Revue Bénédictine*, 48, 1936, p. 321-48. This copy was given by Deslions to Dom Edmond Martène for the compilation of his *De Antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, Lyons, 1700-1706; 2nd edn Antwerp 1736-8. It was also used by Michel Andrieu for the compilation of his *Le Pontifical romain au moyen âge*, 4 vols, Rome, 1938-41 (Studi e Testi, 86-88, 99), I p. 34-42.

OWNERSHIP: Lyons, Bibliothèque des missionaires lyonnais de Saint-Joseph (eighteenth century). Probably acquired by the Bibliothèque municipale of Lyons at the time of the suppression of the religious orders (late-eighteenth / early-nineteenth century).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: KOHLER p. 384-5; V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols, Paris, 1937, I p. 189-94; *PR* I p. 100-14.

HS[12] **PSALTERIUM**, *1223-25*

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 323

Acre

1. (f. 1^r-6^v) Calendarium
(1^r) *Dat prima undecimam ianus pede septima denam...* (WALTHER, *Initia*, no. 4069).
Remarks: 24 Jan. *Timothei ix lc*; 26 Jan. *Juliani ep iii lc*; 30 Jan. *Mathie ep iii lc*; 1 Feb. *Ignatii iii lc*; 2 Feb. *Ypapanti domini*; 12 Feb. *Eulalie v et m*; 18 Feb. *Symeonis ep*; 11 Mar. *XL mm*; 18 Mar. *Alexandri ep*; 27 Mar. *Resurrectio domini*; 27 Apr. *Hic exiuit Noe de arca*; 4 May *Quiriaci ep*; 20 May *Hic Noe intrauit in arcam*; 15 June *Viti Modesti et Crescentie*; 16 June *Cirici et Vilite* (*sic*); 21 June (Add: 13th c.) *Commemoratio Rogeri comitis* (probably Roger of Sanseverino, bailiff of Jerusalem on behalf of Charles of Anjou 1277-82); 30 June *Martialis ep ix lc*; 15 July *Dedicatio ecclesie s Sepulchri*; 9 Aug. *Firmi et Rustici* (martyrs in Verona); 13 Aug. *Cassiani* (bp of Todi, Umbria); 14 Aug. *Felicis et Fortunati*; 20 Aug. *Leontii et Carpofori*; 25 Aug. *Genesii m* (bp of Brescello); 26 Aug. *Alexandri m*; 4 Sept. *Oct s Augustini ix lc*; 17 Sept. *Lamberti ep et m*; 25 Sept. *Cleophe*; 6 Oct. *Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob*; 22 Oct. *Marci ep*; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani*; 31 Oct. *Quintini Nemesii Foillani ix lc*; 6 Nov. *Leonardi cf*; 25 Nov. *Petri Al[exandrini] ep et m*; 5 Dec. *Sabe ab*; 17 Dec. *Lazari.*

14/15th-century Dominican additions include: 28 Jan. *Transl s Thome de Aquino*; 7 Mar. *Festum s Thome de Aquino doctoris ordinis FF Predicatorum*; 29 Apr. *Petri m de ordine Predicatorum, TD*; 7 May *Transl s Petri m, TD*; 8 May *Apparitio s Michaelis arch, TD*; 24 May *Transl s Dominici patris nostri, TD*; 2 July *Visitationis BMV, TD*; 17 July *Alexii cf, iii lc*; 20 July *Margarite v et m, Simplex*; 28 July *Pantaleonis m, ix lc*; 5 Aug. *Dominici cf patris nostri, TD*; 12 Aug. *Oct s Dominici, D*; 20 Aug. *Samuelis prophete ix lc*; 25 Aug. *Lodouici regis Francorum et cf, Simplex*; 4 Oct. *Francisci cf, Simplex*; 21 Oct. *Undecim milium vv, TD*; 13 Nov. *Floridi et Amantii cf, D*; 25 Nov. *Katerine v*; see full text in Appendix.

2. (f. 7^r-8^r) Computistical texts
(7^r) Isti sunt dies apud Grecos quos manifestauit Sydrac sacerdoti ut facerent cognitos filii hominum...(7^v) Table; (8^r) Easter table.

3. (f. 9ra-13rb) Additiones
a. (9ra-12rb) 13th c.: *Prima ala est confessio non laudis... - ... he sunt penne de quibus idem psalmista...fruens beatitudine. Amen* (ALANUS AB INSULA, *De sex alis Cherubim, PL* CCX col. 269-80).
b. (12va-13rb) 14th c.: [Or. ante missam.] *Summe sacerdos et vere pontifex I.C...satiam in eternum. Amen Amen* (WILMART, *Auteurs spirituels*, p. 114-15).

4. (f. 13^v) Additio, 15/16th c.
(13^v) [A.] *Seruite domino in timore et exultate...*

5. (f. 14^v-169^v) Psalterium
(14^v) *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum... -* (169^v) Hec est fides catholica quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit saluus esse non poterit.
(156^r) Canticum Anne prophetisse; (157^r) Canticum Moysis; (164^v) Hymnus Zacharie prophete; (165^r) Canticum BMV; (165^v) Canticum Simeonis; (166^r) Or. dominica. *Pater noster...*; Simbolum apostolorum. *Credo in unum deum...*; (167^r) Simbolum Petrus. *Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem...*; Hymnus s Niceti ep. *Te deum laudamus te dominum confitemur...*; (168^r) Gloria in excelsis deo; (168^v) [Pseudo-Athanasius, Symbolum.] *Quicumque vult saluus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem...*

6. (f. 171^r-174^v) Litaniae sanctorum
(171^r) *Kyrieleyson...Iohannes Baptista* (Patriarchae et Prophetae); *Petre et Paule, Andrea, Iohannes, Iacobe, Philippe, Iacobe, Bartholomee, Thoma, Mathee, Symon, Iuda, Mathia, Barnaba, Marce, Luca, Marcialis* (Apostoli, Evangelistae, et Discipuli); *Innocentes, Stephane, Clemens, Syxte, Laurenti, Vincenti, Leodegari, Sebastiane, Christophore, Georgi, Sauiniane* (Sens), *Potentiane* (Sens), *Pantaleon, Demetri, Dionisi c.s.t., Maurici c.s.t., Eustachi c.s.t., Achati c.s.t., Ypolite c.s.t., Eadmunde* (King of East Anglia), *Adguuarde, Tirse, Juliane, Geruasi, Protasi* (Martyres); *Benedicte, Egidi, Nicholae, Martine, Siluester, Bricci, Gregori, Ylari, Ambrosi, Augustine, Jeronime, Audoene* (Rouen), *Romane* (Rouen), *Remigi* (Rheims), *Samson* (Dol), *Philiberte* (Jumièges), *Leonarde, Macute* (Saint Riquier), *Juliane, Richari* (Saint Riquier), *Vigor* (Bayeux), *Germane, Maure* (Confessores, Monachi, et Heremitae); *Maria Magdalene, Maria Egyptiaca, Anna, Felicitas, Perpetua, Elisabeth, Agatha, Katerina, Agnes, Cecilia, Lucia, Margarita, Barbara, Scolastica, Eugenia, Austroberta* (abbess of Pavilly, Rouen), *Eufemia, Brigida, Petronilla, Fidis, Spes, Karitas, Christina, Columba* (Sens), *Gertrudis* (Nivelles), *Juliana* (abbess of Pavilly, Rouen), *Genouefa* (Paris), *Elena* (The empress, her relics believed to be at Hautvillers, near Rheims), *Baltildis* (Chelles), *Radegundis* (Poitiers), *Paula, Eustochium* (Virgines).
(172^r) *Ut pacem...*; *Ut indulgentiam...*; *Ut spacium penitentie...*; *Ut veram penitentiam...*; *Ut nobis in bonis operibus...*; *Ut sanctam ecclesiam*

tuam...; *Ut domnum apostolicum...*; *Ut abbatissam...*; *Ut locum istum...*; *Ut veram karitatem...*; *Ut spiritum discordie...*; *Ut nobis sanctos archangelos...*; *Ut cordis compunctionem...*; *Ut nos hodie...*; *Ut gratiam spiritus sancti...*; *Ut morbos auferam...*; *Ut animas nostras...*; *Ut congregationem...*; *Ut regi nostro et omni exercitui eius pacem atque victoriam donare digneris. Ut cunctum populum christianum...*; *Ut nobis partem et societatem...*; *Ut vultum tuum...*; (172^v) *Ut ad promissum premium...*; *Ut errantes...*; *Ut gentem paganam...*; *Ut aeris temperiem...*; *Ut inundantiam pluuiarum...*; *Ut pluuiam salutarem...*; *Ut fructus terre...*; *Ut oculos misericordie...*; *Ut salutem mentis...*; *Ut mentes nostras...*; *Ut omnia vincula...*; *Ut captiuis...*; *Ut inimicis...*; *Ut fidelibus nauigantibus...*; *Ut fratribus et sororibus...*; Pro peccatis; Pro bonis operibus; Ad inchoanda bona opera; (173^r) Pro gratia spiritus sancti postulanda; Pro tribulatione; Pro congregatione. *Familiam huius sacri cenobii...*; Pro custodia loci; (174^r) Pro abbatissa. *Concede quesumus domine famule tue abbatisse nostre ut predicando et exercendo que recta sunt exemplum bonorum operum animos suorum instruat subditorum et eterne remunerationis mercedem a te piissimo pastore percipiat. Per.* (174^v) Pro comite nostro. *O.s.d. misericordiam tuam suppliciter deprecamur ut famulum tuum .N. comitem nostrum cum suis omnibus fidelibus magne pietatis tue protectioni custodias et ab omnibus mundi huius periculis sempiterne prouisione tuearis ut gratie tue munere defensi donis semper celestibus iocundetur. Per* (Boase suggests count John of Brienne, ex-king of Jerusalem (1210-12), who died in 1237; see BOASE, *Ecclesiastical Art*, p. 130).

7. (f. 175^r) Additiones, 14/15th c.
a. (175^r) *Vergine bella che di sol vestita. Incoronata di stelle al sommo...* (FRANCESCO PETRARCA, *Canzoniere*, ed. M. SANTAGATA, Milan, 1996, p. 1397-1401 no. 366).
b. *Vergine madre pia...* (see *Incipitario unificato della poesia italiana* [= *IUPI*], ed. M. SANTAGATA, 2 vols, Modena, 1988, II p. 1833); *Aue tempio di dio sacrato...* (see *IUPI* I p. 146).

175 f. Parchment. Brown ink. 220 × 165 mm, 21 long lines written above top line (f. 15^r). Collation: 1^8 2^{6-1} (wants 5) 3-21^8 22^{8+2}. Hair side out. Ruling with lead. Pricking not visible. No catchwords. Littera textualis rotunda. Buchthal dates Jerusalem *c.*1235. Folda, Acre *c.*1235; Minervini follows Folda.

DECORATION: 1 full-page initial, 7 miniatures, very numerous small illuminated initials; other initials are supplied in red or blue; see BUCHTHAL 144 and pl. 52a-c, 53a-d, 54a.

BINDING: Nineteenth-century (first half) parchment, with red edged leaves. 230 × 174 × 35 mm.

ORIGIN: Acre, copied from a manuscript produced for the Benedictine nunnery of Sta Anna in Jerusalem.

PROVENANCE: A gift for Isabel II († 1228), queen regnant 1212-28, commissioned either by her father John of Brienne († 1237) or by her future husband, emperor Frederick II († 1250).

OWNERSHIP: Margharita Dasschorno(?), S. Silvestro, Dominican nunnery (fourteenth/fifteenth century); inscription on f. 175^v: «Suor Margharita dasschorno monacha in sancto Siluestro», and see the Dominican additions to the calendar. Riccardi collection; started in Valfonda by the Marquis Riccardo Romolo in the sixteenth century, later moved to Florence by Francesco Riccardi (eighteenth century). After the death of Gabriele Riccardi († 1799) the collection was sold and the books were purchased by the municipality of Florence in 1813 and donated to the State in 1815; see A. BULGARINI, Notizie intorno alla R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze, in *Giornale delle Biblioteche*, anno II, 9, Genoa, 1868, p. 81-2; C. FRATI and A. SORBELLI, *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari italiani (s. XIV-)*, Florence, 1933, p. 495; *Biblioteche d'Italia, le biblioteche pubbliche statali*, [Rome], 1991, p. 73-80.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Inventario e stima della libreria Riccardi. Manoscritti e edizioni del secolo XV*, Florence, 1810, p. 11 «Psalterium et cantica ecclesiae. Cod. membr. in quarto saec. xiv. cum picturis»; *Mostra storica Nazionale della miniatura, Palazzo Venezia - Roma, catalogo*, ed. G. MUZZIOLI, Florence, 1953, p. 113 no. 156, pl. ixb; I. TOESCA, L'exposition de Rome, in *Scriptorium*, 8, 1954, p. 318-22, at 320 (mention: «le caractère byzantin a aussi des accents qui rappellent l'Italie»); F. WORMALD, The Pontifical of Apamea, in *Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 5, 1954, p. 271-9, at 277; BUCHTHAL p. 39-46, 107-21, 143-4 no. 9; M. L. SCURICINI GRECO, *Miniature Riccardiane*, Florence, 1958 (Contributi alla biblioteca bibliografica italica, 17), p. 80-1 no. 49; A. DANEU LATTANZI, Ancora sulla scuola miniaturistica dell'Italia meridionale sveva, in *La Bibliofilia*, 66, 1964, p. 105-62; BOASE, *Ecclesiastical Art*, p. 129-30; G. MARIANI-CANOVA, Venezia sec. XII-XIII: testo e immagini nei manoscritti liturgici marciani, in *Congresso di storia della miniatura, 3. Cortona, 1988. Il codice miniato: rapporti tra codice, testo e figurazione*, Firenze, 1992, p. 247-65, at 258; FOLDA, *I manoscritti miniati*, p. 302; *Pregare nel segreto. Libri d'ore e testi di spiritualità nella tradizione cristiana*, ed. G. CAVALLO, Rome, 1994, p. 39 no. 1 and p. 79-80 (photograph); *Biblioteche Riccardiana e Moreniana in Palazzo Medici Riccardi*, Florence, 1998, p. 60, pl. xi (f. 90^v) and xii (f. 14^v); MINERVINI p. 86; *I colori del divino*. Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 20 febbraio – 19 maggio 2001, ed. G. LAZZI, Florence, 2001, p. 59-61 no. 2.

HS[13] **SACRAMENTARIUM,** *1225-28*

London, British Library, ms. Egerton 2902 Acre

1. (f. 1^{r-v}) Additio, late-14th c., Italian script

Jan. and Feb. are written for the use of Italian Augustinian Friars Hermits : 6 Feb. *Anniuersarium patrum et matrum ordinis nostri* ; 4 Feb. *Giliberti cf* ; 9 Feb. *s Guillemi cf semi duplex* (red) ; 28 Feb. *Translatio s Augustini ep et cf* (red).

2. (f. 2^{r}-6^{v}) Calendarium

(2^{r}) *Martis prima necat cuius cuspide iiii est...* (WALTHER, *Initia*, no. 10724).

Remarks : 31 Jan. *Ciri et Iohannis* (not in the sanctoral) ; 18 Mar. *Ierusalem Alexandri ep et m* ; 14 Apr. (Add : 14th c.) *O[biit] Deus te adiuuet, clericus* ; 4 May *Ierusalem Quiriaci ep et cf* ; 11 May *Poncii m* (venerated in Montpellier, not in the sanctoral) ; 28 May *Germani ep* (bp of Paris, not in the sanctoral) ; 30 June *Marcialis ep et cf* (bp of Limoges, not in the sanctoral) ; (Add : same 14th-c. hand) *O[biit] Petrus Johannes bonus* (Bongiovanni), *clericus* ; 15 July *Dedicatio ecclesie dominici Sepulchri et liberatio Ierusalem* ; 28 July *Samsonis m* (bp of Dol, not in the sanctoral) ; 6 Aug. *Iusti m et Pastoris* (Narbonne) ; 9 Aug. *Romani m* ; 23 Aug. *Ierusalem. Zachei ep et cf* ; 10 Sept. *Saluii ep et cf* (bp of Albi, not in the sanctoral) ; 17 Sept. *Lamberti ep* ; 4 Oct. *Marci et Marciani* (not in the sanctoral) ; 5 Oct. *Apollinaris ep et cf* (bp of Valence, not in the sanctoral) ; 11 Oct. *Germani Nicasi et Quirini* (not in the sanctoral) ; 13 Oct. *Geraldi ab et cf* (ab of Aurillac, not in the sanctoral) ; 22 Oct. *Ierusalem Marci ep et m* ; (Add : same 14th-c. hand ?) *O[biit] dominus Egidius, cardinalis diaconus* (perhaps Aegidius Petri Leonis, card. diac. S. Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano, † 1195) ; 29 Oct. *Ierusalem Narcisi ep et cf* ; 4 Nov. *Amantii ep* (bp of Rodez, not in the sanctoral) ; 13 Nov. *et gloriosi Verani ep* (bp of Cavaillon, not in the sanctoral) ; 17 Nov. *Anniani ep* (bp of Orleans, not in the sanctoral) ; 18 Nov. *Romani m* (not in the sanctoral) ; 21 Nov. *Columbani ab* (not in the sanctoral) ; 9 Dec. *Leocadie v* (not in the sanctoral) ; 10 Dec. *Eulalie v* (not in the sanctoral) ; 11 Dec. *Pauli ep et Damasi*, (not in the sanctoral) ; 17 Dec. *Lazarus ep et m quem dominus suscitauit* ; 29 Dec. *Trophini ep* (bp of Arles, not in the sanctoral).

Full text in Appendix.

3. (f. 7^{r}) Computus

Table of movable feasts for the nineteen years of the lunar cycle.

4. (f. 7^{v}-8^{v}) Additio, two late-14th-c. Italian hands

(7^{v}) Or. s Ambrosii ep ad Missam. *Summe sacerdos et vere pontifex...*

(*PL* XVII col. 751-5 ; WILMART, *Auteurs spirituels*, p. 114-24) - (8^{v}) Postcom. *Munera diuina que sumpsimus domine resurrectione filii tui...in melius deducat. Per eundem dominum.*

5. (f. 14^{r}-18^{v}) Ordinarium missae

(14^{r}) *Per omnia secula seculorum...* - (18^{v}) Or. *Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammas...flamma viciorum. Per eundem.*

(14^{r}) *[Vere dignum] equum et salutare te domine suppliciter exorare...esse pastores. Et ideo.* (14^{v}) (Miniature : Crucifixion.) || (One leaf cut away, probably containing a miniature of *Te igitur*) || (15^{r}) *[Memento domine...redemp]tione animarum suarum pro spe salutis et incolumitatis sue tibique reddunt vota sua eterno deo viuo et vero. Communicantes ; Hanc igitur* ; (16^{r}) *Memento...* ; (16^{v}) *Nobis quoque...Iohanne, Stephano, Mathia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agata, Lucia, Agnete, Cecilia, Anastasia...* ; (17^{r}) *Pater noster.* (17^{v}) blank.

6. (f. 19^{r-v} ; 9^{r}) Prefatia

(19^{r}) || *[Vere dignum] eterne deus qui corporali ieiunio vicia comprimis mentem eleuas virtutem largiris et premia.* Per Christum dominum nostrum. Per quem maiestatem... - (19^{r}) Prephatio de resurrectione domini ; Prephatio de sancto spiritu ; Prephatio de sancta trinitate ; Prephatio de sancta cruce ; Prephatio de sancta Maria ; (9^{r}) (misbound) Prephatio de omnibus apostolis.

In the empty space of f. 9 the *officia* from the first Sunday of Advent to the Octave of Easter have been added in the same or in a contemporary hand. Dominica I aduentus domini officium. [Intr.] *Ad te leuaui animam meam...* - [Dominica in octabis Pasche.] V. *Exultate deo adiutori* ||

7. (f. 20^{r}-74^{v}) Proprium de tempore

(20^{r}) Dominica I in aduentu domini. Coll[ecta]. *Excita domine quesumus potentiam tuam...* - (74^{v}) [Dominica XXIIII.] Post com. *Concede nobis domine quesumus ut quicquid in nostra mente...medicatione curetur. Per.*

(27^{v}) Dominica in LXX ; Dominica in LX ; (28^{r}) Dominica in L ; (30^{r}) Dominica initio XL ; (38^{v}) Dominica in passione domini ; (40^{v}) Dominica in ramis palmarum ; (50^{v}) Or. ad ignem benedicendum ; Bn cerei quam Zosimus pp constituit ; (56^{r}) In die s Pasche ; (64^{r}) In die [Penthecostes] ; (66^{v}) Dominica in octabis Pentecostes.

No Alleluia verses for the Sundays after Penthecost. 'Sacra' for Secreta.

8. (f. 74^{v}-117^{r}) Proprium de sanctis

(74^{v}) VII Kal. Ianuarii. Nat s Stephani prothomartiris. *Da nobis*

quesumus domine immitari quod colimus... - (117^{r}) [Thome ap.] Postcom. *Conserua domine populum tuum ut quem sanctorum tuorum presidiis non desinis adiuuare perpetuis tribue gaudere remediis. Per.*
(75^{r}) 27 Dec. *Iohannis ap*; 28 Dec. *Innocentum*; (75^{v}) 29 Dec. *Nat s Thome archipresulis et m*; (76^{r}) 31 Dec. *Siluestri pp*; 13 Jan. *Remigi et Ylarii*; (76^{v}) 14 Jan. *Felicis in Pincis*; 15 Jan. *Mauri ab*; (77^{r}) 16 Jan. *Marcelli pp*; 18 Jan. *Prisce v*; (77^{v}) 20 Jan. *Fabiani et Sebastiani*; (78^{r}) 21 Jan. *Agnetis v*; (78^{v}) 22 Jan. *Vincentii m*; 24 Jan. *Timothei ep et m*; 25 Jan. *Conuersio s Pauli*; (79^{r}) Eodem die *Preiecti m*; (79^{v}) 27 Jan. *Iuliani ep*; 28 Jan. *Agnetis secundo*; 30 Jan. *Mathie ep et cf*; 1 Feb. *Ignatii ep*; 2 Feb. *Ypapanti domini*; (80^{r}) 3 Feb. *Blasii ep*; 5 Feb. *Agathe v*; (80^{v}) 10 Feb. *Scolastice v*; (81^{r}) 12 Feb. *Eulalie v et m*; 14 Feb. *Valentini*; (81^{v}) 18 Feb. *Symeonis ep et m*; 22 Feb. *Cathedra s Petri*; 24 Feb. *Mathie ap*; (82^{r}) 1 Mar. *Albini*; 11 Mar. *XL mm*; (82^{v}) 12 Mar. *Gregorii pp*; 18 Mar. *Alexandri ep et m*; 21 Mar. *Benedicti ab*; (83^{r}) 25 Mar. *Annunciatio s Marie*; (83^{v}) 14 Apr. *Tiburcii Valeriani et Maximi*; (84^{r}) 23 Apr. *Georgi m*; (84^{v}) 25 Apr. *Marci ev*; 28 Apr. *Vitalis m*; (85^{r}) 1 May *Philippi e Iacobi*; 2 May *Atha[na]sii ep et cf*; 3 May *Alexandri Euentii et Theo[duli]*; (85^{v}) Eodem die *Inuentio s Crucis*; (86^{r}) 4 May *Quiriaci ep et m*; 6 May *Iohannis ante portam latinam*; 10 May *Gordiani et Epimachi*; (86^{v}) 12 May *Nerei et Achillei*; Eodem die *Panchracii*; (87^{v}) 25 May *Urbani m et pp*; 8 June *Medardi et Gildardi*; (88^{r}) 9 June *Primi et Feliciani*; 11 June *Barnabe*; (88^{v}) 12 June *Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Naz[arii]*; 15 June *Viti, Modesti, et Crescentie*; 16 June *Cirici et Iulite*; (89^{r}) 18 June *Marci et Marcelliani*; 19 June *Geruasii et Prothasii*; (89^{v}) 22 June *Paulini ep et cf*; 28 June *Vig Iohannis Baptiste*; 29 June *Iohannis Baptiste*; (90^{r}) 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli*; (90^{v}) 28 June *Leonis pp*; (91^{r}) Eodem die *Vig app Petri et Pauli*; 29 June [In die]; (91^{v}) 30 June *Comm s Pauli*; (92^{r}) Eodem die *Marcialis ep*; 1 July *Oct Iohannis Baptiste*; 2 July *Processi et Martiniani*; 6 July *Oct. Petri et Pauli*; (92^{v}) 10 July *VII fratrum*; (93^{r}) 11 July *Transl Benedicti ab*; 15 July *Missa pro libertate Ierusalem de manu paganorum*; (93^{v}) 20 July *Margarete v*; 21 July *Praxedis v*; 22 July *M. Magdalene*; (94^{r}) 23 July *Apollinaris*; (94^{v}) 24 July *Vig Iacobi*; 25 July *Iacobi*; (95^{r}) Eodem die *Christofori et Cucufati*; 28 July *Nazarii et Celsi*; 29 July *Felicis ep et m*; Eodem die *Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis*; (95^{v}) 30 July *Abdon et Sennen*; (96^{r}) 31 July *Germani ep et cf*; 1 Aug. *Ad vincula s Petri*; (96^{v}) Eodem die *Macabeorum*; 2 Aug. *Stephani pp et m*; (97^{r}) 3 Aug. *Inuentio s Stephani*; 6 Aug. *Transfiguratio domini*; (97^{v}) Eodem die *Sixti ep et m*; (98^{r}) Bn uuarum; Eodem die *Felicissimi et Agapiti*; *Iusti et Pastoris*; (98^{v}) 7 Aug. *Donati ep et m*; 8 Aug. *Ciriaci et soc*; 9 Aug. *Vig Laurentii*; (99^{r}) 10 Aug. *Laurentii*; (99^{v}) 11 Aug. *Tyburcii m*; (100^{r}) 13 Aug. *Ypoliti m*; *Eusebii cf*; (100^{v}) 14 Aug. *Vig Assumptionis*; 15 Aug. *Assumptio BMV*; (101^{r}) 17 Aug. *Oct Laurentii*; 18 Aug. *Agapiti*; (101^{v}) 22 Aug. *Oct Assumptionis*; Eodem die *Thimothei et Simphoriani*; (102^{r}) 23 Aug. *Zachei ep et cf*; 24 Aug. Eodem die *Bartholomei, Rufi, Ermetis, atque Iuliani*; (102^{v}) Eodem die *Augustini ep*; (103^{r}) 29 Aug. *Decollationis s Iohannis Baptiste; Eodem die Sabine*; (103^{v}) 30 Aug. *Felicis et Audacti*; 1 Sept. *Egidii ab*; (104^{r}) 4 Sept. *Oct Augustini*; 8 Sept. *Nat BMV*; (104^{v}) Eodem die *Adriani m*; 9 Sept. *Gorgonii m*; 11 Sept. *Proti et Iacincti*; (105^{r}) 13 Sept. *Maurilii cf*; 14 Sept. *Cornelii et Cipriani*; Eodem die *Exaltatio s Crucis*; (105^{v}) 15 Sept. *Nicomedis m*; (106^{r}) 16 Sept. *Eufemie v*; Eodem die *Lucie et Geminiani*; (106^{v}) 17 Sept. *Lamberti*; 21 Sept. *Mathei ap*; (107^{r}) 22 Sept. *Mauricii, Exuperii, Candidi, Victoris, Innocencii, et Vitalis*; (107^{v}) 25 Sept. *Cleophe disc*; 27 Sept. *Cosme et Damiani*; 29 Sept. *Michaelis arch*; (108^{r}) 30 Sept. *Ieronimi presb*; (108^{v}) 1 Oct. *Remigi, Germani, et Vedasti*; 2 Oct. *Leodegarii ep*; 6 Oct. *Festiuitas ss patriarcharum Abraham Ysaac et Iacob*; (109^{r}) Eodem die *Fidis*; 7 Oct. *Marci pp*; Eodem die *Marcelli, Apulei, Sergi, et Bachi*; (109^{v}) 9 Oct. *Dionisii cum soc*; (110^{r}) 14 Oct. *Sixti pp* (Calixti pp); 18 Oct. *Luce ev*; (110^{v}) 22 Oct. *Ierusalem Marci ep et m*; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani*; (111^{r}) 28 Oct. *Simonis et Iude*; (111^{v}) 29 Oct. *Narcisi ep et m*; 31 Oct. *Quintini*; Eodem die *Vig omnium ss*; (112^{r}) 1 Nov. *Festiuitas omnium ss;* Eodem die *Cesarii m*; (112^{v}) 9 Nov. *Leonardi cf*; 8 Nov. *IIII coronatorum*; 9 Nov. *Theodori m*; (113^{r}) 10 Nov. *Martini pp et m*; 11 Nov. *Martini ep*; (113^{v}) Eodem die *Menne m*; 13 Nov. *Bricii ep et cf*; 18 Nov. *Oct Martini*; 22 Nov. *Cecilie v*; (114^{r}) 23 Nov. *Clementis m*; Eodem die *Felicitatis*; (114^{v}) 24 Nov. *Grisogoni m*; 25 Nov. *Petri Alexandrini ep*; 29 Nov. *Saturnini m*; (115^{r}) Eodem die *Vig Andree*; (115^{v}) 4 Dec. *Barbare v et m*; 5 Dec. *Sabe ab*; (116^{r}) 6 Dec. *Nicholai ep*; 7 Dec. *Oct Andree*; (116^{v}) 13 Dec. *Lucie v*; 17 Dec. *Lazari*; 20 Dec. *Vig Thome ap*; 21 Dec. *Thome.*

9. (f. 117^{r}-118^{v}) Communne sanctorum
(117^{r}) In nat unius ep et m. *Infirmitatem nostram respice...* - (118^{v}) [In transl unius m siue cf.] Postcom. *Repleti muneribus sacris quesumus omnipotens deus ut beati .N...peregimus. Per.*
(117^{r}) In nat unius m et non ep; In nat plurimorum mm; (117^{v}) In nat unius ep; In nat unius cf laici; In nat plurimorum cff; (118^{r}) In nat unius ab; In nat unius v et m; In nat unius v et non m; (118^{v}) In transl unius m siue cf.

10. (f. 118^{v}-120^{r}) Dedicatio ecclesiae
(118^{v}) In dedicatione ecclesie. *Deus qui nos per singulos annos huius*

sancti templi... - (120r) [Missa cotidiana de illo sancto qui in presenti iacet monasterio.] Postcom. *Diuina libantes misteria que per huius sanctissimi confessoris...donis reficiamur. Per.*
(119r) In dedicatione altaris; (119v) Missa cotidiana de illo sancto qui in presenti iacet monasterio.

11. (f. 120r-133r) Missae votivae
(120r) Missa de trinitate. *O.s.d. qui dedisti famulis tuis...* - (133r) [Missa pro infirmis.] Postcom. *Deus infirmitatis humane singulare presidium...representari mereatur.* Per.
(120r) In comm angelorum; (120v) De sapientia; De caritate; Ad postulandam spiritus sancti gratiam; In comm s Crucis; (121v) De resurrectione; (122r) De s spiritu; (122v) In comm s Marie; (123r) In comm omnium sanctorum; Hanc missam dicat sacerdos pro seipso; (123v) Pro pontifice; (124r) Pro rege (Add: in the right margin, different 13th-c. hand) Missa pro regina. *[Prot]ege quesumus domine famulam tuam reginam nostram et gratie et dona in ea multiplica ut ab omnibus libera offensis et temporalibus non destituatur auxiliis et sempiternis gaudeat institutis. Per dominum.* Secr. *Huius quesumus domine virtute misterii et a propriis nos munda delictis et famulam tuam reginam nostram ab omnibus absolue peccatis. Per.* Postcom. *[F]amulam tuam quesumus domine reginam nostram continua pietate custodi ut et ab omnibus aduersitatibus te protegente sit libera et in bonis actibus \tuo nomini/ sit deuota. Per.* (124v) Pro iter agentibus; (125r) Pro prelatis ecclesie; Pro familiaribus et benefactoribus; (126r) Pro immundis cogitationibus; (126v) Pro pace; (127r) In aduersitatibus; In tempore belli; (127v) Pro inimicis; Pro humilitate; (128r) Pro amico in tribulatione; (128v) Pro amico in itinere pos[ito?]; Ad lacrimas postulandas; (129r) Pro penitentibus; (129v) Pro stabilitate loci; Pro mortalitate hominum; (130r) Pro aliqua tribulatione et necessitate; Pro peccatis; (130v) In tempore tribulacionis; Pro adquirendam pacem; (131r) Ad concordiam poscendam; Contra paganos; (Add: in the margin in the same hand which has added the missa pro regina) *O.s.d. in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum...potentia comprimatur. Per dominum.* (131v) Pro captiuis; (132r) Ad pluuiam postulandam; Ad poscendum serenum officium; (132v) Ad repellendam tempestatem; Pro infirmis.

12. (f. 133r-139v) Missae pro defunctis
(133r) Ita dicuntur ordinatim misse defunctorum. Si anniuersarium venerit hec or. dicitur in feria ii prima. *Deus indulgentiarum...* - (139v) [Missa pro patre et matre.] Postcom. *Celestis participatio sacramenti quesumus domine...coronet eterna.* Per.

(133v) Pro benefactoribus; (134r) Pro fidelibus liberis defunctis; (134v) Pro episcopo vel sacerdote; (135r) Pro uno sacerdote; Pro congregatione cotidie; (135v) Pro parentibus omnium fratrum; (136r) Pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis; (137r) Pro femina; Pro anniuersario; (137v) Missa s Augustini pro viuis et defunctis; (138r) Missa communis pro salute viuorum et requiem defunctorum; (138v) Missa communis viuorum et mortuorum; (139v) Pro patre et matre.

13. (f. 139v; 10r-13v) Orationes diversae
(139v) Or. s Ambrosii quem sacerdos dicat supplicando ante altare fine missa. *Deus qui de indignis dignos facis...* - (13v) [Ad explicanda corporalia.] *In tuo conspectu quesumus domine hec nostra munera ita placita...*; Respondeantque omnes. *Mittat tibi dominus auxilium de sancto et de Syon tueatur te memor omnis sacrificii tui et holocaustum tuum acceptabile fiat ei.*
(10v) Orationes vestiarum; (12r) Hymnus angelicus. *Gloria in excelsis deo...*; Simbolum maiore oratio. *Credo in unum deum...*; (13v) (Add: 14th c.) Pro comm s Marie et omnium sanctorum et pace ecclesie oratio. *A cunctis nos quesumus domine...*, with secreta and communio; (*PL* CCXVII col. 917-18; van Dijk, *The Ordinal*, p. XXIX n. 8, 152; van Dijk, *Sources*, II p. 321 no. 9).

14. (f. 140r-145r) Evangelia
(140r) De resurrectione [secundum] Marcum. *I.i.t. Maria Magdalene et Maria Iacobi et Salome emerunt aromata...* - (145r) [Pro fidelibus defunctis. Alius secundum Iohannem.] *I.i.t.d.I. turbis Iudeorum. Amen, amen dico vobis quia venit hora et nunc est...in resurrectione iudicii.*
(140r) De ascensione domini; (140v) De sancta trinitate; (141r) De s spiritu; (141v) In comm angelorum; In comm s Crucis; In comm b Marie; (142r) In nat app; (142v) In nat unius m; In nat plurimorum mm; (143r) In nat unius cf; (143v) In nat plurimorum cff; In nat unius ab; (144r) In nat unius v; (144v) Pro fidelibus defunctis.

15. (f. 145v-147v) Marriage service
(145v) In primis nominetur dos sponse et postea interroget sacerdos si ipse vult eam... - (147v) [Bn talami.] Or. *Benedic domine talamum hunc...in longitudinem dierum.* Per.

16. (f. 148r-150r) Benedictiones
(148r) Exorcismus salis. *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini. Exorcizo te creatura salis...* - (150r) [Bn ignis noui.] Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus benedicere et sanctificare digneris...; Or.

Erudi quesumus domine plebem tuam et que extrinsecus annua tribuis deuotione venerari interius assequi gratie tue luce concede. Per.
(148^{r}) Exorcismus aque ; (149^{r}) Bn candelarum.

17. (f. 150^{v}-151^{r}) Evangelia
(150^{v}) Initium s ev. secundum Iohannem. *In principio erat verbum…plenum gratie et veritatis.* (151^{r}) De natiuitate domini secundum Lucam. *I.i.t. pastores loquebantur ad inuicem…sicut dictum est ad illos.*

18. (f. 151^{v}) Additio, late-13th c.
(151^{v}) | | *multe tribulationes.* Missa s Aquatii sociorumque eius. *Adiuuet ecclesiam tuam deus gloriosa martirum obsecratio sanctorum…*; [Secundum Lucam.] *I.i.t. missus est angelus Gabriel a deo in ciuitatem Galilee…dominus tecum. Bene*| |

ii+151+i f. Parchment. Brown ink. 300 × 215 mm (195 × 126 mm), 21 long lines written above top line (f. 10^{r}). Collation : 1^{8} 2^{1+4} 3^{6} $4\text{-}19^{8}$ 20^{4} ; f. 9, misbound, should be between f. 19 and 20 ; f. 10-13, misbound, should be between fol. 139 and 140. Hair side out. Pricking visible in the outer margin. Ruling with lead. Gathering 5 (f. 28-35) has double vertical ruling. Catchwords in the middle of the lower margin of the versos, only occasionally visible. 2° folio : « Marcius habet dies xxxi ». Norman minuscule. Identified by Wormald as being in the same hand as BL, ms. Additional 57528 (HS^{11}). Quaritch dates *c.*1200 ; the later additions to early-fifteenth century. Buchthal assigns and dates to Jerusalem, 1228-44 ; for my assignment and dating, Acre, 1225-28, see Chapter III.
A few marginal notes, mainly supplementing the text, in a thirteenth-century Italian hand. On f. 18^{v} marginal note in a fourteenth-century hand : « *Domine I.C. qui dixisti apostolis tuis pacem meam…regere digneris. Qui viuis. Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus da michi corpus et sanguinem…per omnia secula seculorum. Amen* ». On front pastedown pencil note in George Dunn's hand : « Hospitaller or Carmelite sacramentary about 1210 (Kerney) : for his fuller account see Quar. Gen Cat. Suppl. 8 fol. 5 (1895) Suppl 5 (1893) ».
Decoration : One full-page illuminated miniature of the Crucifixion on f. 14^{v}. On f. 14^{r}, 20^{r}, 56^{r}, 62^{r}, 64^{v}, 74^{v}, 83^{v}, 100^{v}, and 112^{r} three- to nine-line initials (historiated those on f. 14^{r} and 62^{r}) are supplied in blue, dark green, or purple, with green and purple, blue, or green and brown foliate decoration, on an orange/brown, or sometimes chequered red and blue, ground ; see Buchthal pl. 55b-h, 56a-c. Other initials are supplied in red or blue with blue or red penwork decoration. Capital strokes in red.
Binding : Fifteenth-century(?) blind-tooled (fillets only) brown leather over wooden boards, with three brass studs at each corner and in the centre, remains of the two leather clasps dyed red, hinged on the upper cover, and two brass catches attached to the lower cover. Double fillets form a frame ;

within the frame diagonal double fillets form four triangular compartments. Rebacked. Shelf location « 736 » printed on oval paper label at head of the spine, « c » at tail. 305 × 220 × 60 mm.
Pastedowns : Front and rear pastedowns and endleaves consist of leaves (2 columns of 36 lines) from a late-twelfth- / early-thirteenth-century Italian manuscript, Legenda :
a. (II^{ra}) [Passio s Anastasii, 22 Jan., parts of lections 7-9] | | *beret assensum et inueni eum inuincibilem…Venerantur in monasterio ad Aquas Saluias.*
b. (III^{ra}) [In s Emerentiana, 23 Jan, parts of lections 1-3] : *…gaudiis sollempnem nobis gloriose Emerentiane…* [lectio III] *…lapidata est ab eis et orans iuxta*| |
c. (IV^{ra}) [Apparitio s Michaelis in Monte Tancia, 8 May] : *Archangeli dedicata…Introitus autem cripte minus a medio montis deorsum pendet…Ab illo autem die Sabinensium populus locum cepit venerari…patronum atque intercessorem aput deum altissimum, qui viuit…*
d. (IV^{vb}) [Passio ss Gordiani et Epimachi, 10 May] : *Hodie colitur natale sanctorum martirum…quos Iulianus imperator*| |
Origin : Acre.
Provenance : Acre, patriarch Gerold of Lausanne (1225-39) ; see entries in the calendar relating to the South of France. Cyprus, Canons of the Holy Sepulchre ? ; see addition of s. Achatius, venerated in Nicosia, on f. 151^{v}.
Ownership : Italy, Augustinian Friars Hermits (fourteenth century) ; see added leaves in the calendar. Bernard Quaritch (1819-99) ; see *DNB* ; N. Barker, Bernard Quaritch, in *The Book Collector. Special Number for the 150th Anniversary of Bernard Quaritch*, ed. R. Linenthal, London, 1997, p. 3-34 ; B. Quaritch, *General Catalogue. Supplement. 8. Bibliotheca Liturgica*, London, 1895, p. 5-6 no. 27 for £90. George Dunn (1865-1912), of Woolley Hall, Maidenhead ; book-label on front pastedown : « From the Library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall near Maidenhead » and pencil note on front endleaf : « 46 [ ] G. D. May 1907 » ; his sale, *Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Library Formed by George Dunn, Esq. (deceased) Woolley Hall, near Maidenhead*, London : Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 11-14 Feb. 1913, lot 578. Purchased by the British Museum in 1913, from the Farnborough Fund ; on rear endleaf is pasted a label with the arms of Charles Long of Carshalton, baron Farnborough (1761-1838), bearing the motto « Tria juncta in uno » of the order of Bath (Elvine p. 202), of which he was made a member in 1820, and « Ingenuas suscipit artes » (Elvine p. 96) of the family.
Bibliography : B. Quaritch, *Paleography. Notes upon the History of Writing and the Medieval Art of Illumination*, London, 1894, p. 88 pl. 11 « miniature of the crucifixion is visibly Italian work of the rudest style. It is taken from a Missal, written in a hand which is also Italian of the end of the 13th c., but gothic in form. The lit. character of the book however is such that we may believe it to have been produced in England, perhaps by an Italian Cistercian monk » ; *The British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the*

British Museum in the Years 1911-1915, London, 1925, p. 416-18; F. WORMALD, The Pontifical of Apamea, in *Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 5, 1954, p. 271-9; BUCHTHAL p. xxxif, 47-8, 93, 107-21; 136, 144 no. 10; BOASE, *Ecclesiastical Art*, 131-1; WATSON (BL) p. 115 no. 615; MINERVINI p. 86.

HS[14] **BREVIARIUM**, *1256-61*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 10478 Acre (Templars)

1. (A-H) Additiones, 1756
(A) Notitiae de isto codice. | 1. Codex est in forma quarti... - (H) Ego frater Cirillus de Gubernatis a Matre Dei Astensis, Ordinis Carmelitanus in provincia Pedemontana ex provincialis, aliena manu scribebat, propria subscribebam, et dabam in carmelo Taurinensi iv Kal. Novembris, MDCCLVI'.

Manuscript annotations relating to the history of the manuscript by the Carmelite from Asti Cirillus de Gubernatis, provincial of Piedmont, dated Turin 1756; on de Gubernatis see *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis fratrum B. V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo. II Ab anno 1598 usque ad annum 1902*, ed. G. WESSELS, Rome, 1934, p. 344, 355, 386.

2. (p. 1-2) Additiones, 13th c., various hands

Prayers and hymns.

3. (p. 3-14) Calendarium
(3) *Ianuarius habet dies xxxi luna xxx...*
Remarks: 8 Jan. *Patientis ep Metensis*; 10 Jan. *Polienti ep*; 16 Jan. (Add:) Eodem die *Honorati ep in conuentu Perpiniani*; 17 Jan. *Supplicii ep et cf* (bp of Bourges); 19 Jan. *Marii Marthe Aud. Abacuc*; 23 Jan. *Emerenciane et Macarii*; 26 Jan. *Policarpi*; 27 Jan. *Iohannis Crisostomi ep et cf*; 29 Jan. *Valerii ep et cf* (bp of Trier) *Serene v*; 31 Jan. (Add:) *Marci ep et cf Mem*; 1 Feb. *Brigide v*; 3 Feb. *Blasii ep et cf*; 6 Feb. (Add:) *Vedasti et Amandi 3 lc*; 10 Feb. *Iona Hyrenei Iacincti et Aman*; 11 Feb. *Scolastice v*; 14 Feb. *Vitalis*; 16 Feb. *Symeonis ep Metensis*; 18 Feb. *Legentii ep Metensis*; 21 Feb. *Felicis ep Metensis*; 7 Mar. *Perpetue et Felicitatis*; 27 Feb. (Add: 15th c.) *Leandro ep et cf* (bp of Seville); 11 Mar. (Add:) *Ss mm XL 9 lc*; 17 Mar. *Gertrudis v*; 18 Mar. (Add:) *Alexandri m*; 20 Mar. *Urbitii ep Metensis*; 30 Mar. (Add:) *Pasio s Secundini m* (m in Asti); 11 Apr. *Leonis pp*; 19 Apr. *Leonis pp*; 2 May *Transl Clementis ep*; 4 May (Add:) *Quiriaci ep et m ix lc*; 9 May *Transl s Nicholai ep*; 11 May *Gendulfi m*; 13 May *Seruatii ep et cf*; 14 May *Victoris et Corone*; 16 May *Transl Therentii ep Metensis*; 19 May *Potentiane*; 28 May *Germani ep et cf*; 29 May *Maximini*

ep et cf; 31 May *Petronille v*; 1 June (Add:) *Transl s Secundi m* (Asti); 3 June *Pergentini et Laurentini*; 5 June *Bonifacii et soc*; 8 June *Medardi ep et cf*; 13 June *Antonii cf* (of Padua † 1231); 15 June *Viti et Modesti m*; 16 June *Legontii et Fromini epp Metensium*; 20 June *Vitalis m*; 21 June *Albani m*; 22 June *Albini m*, (Add:) *Paulini ep*; 23 June *Auiti cf*; 27 June *Crispini et Crispiniani m*; 28 June *Leonis pp*; 1 July *Theobaldi cf*; 13 July *Margarete v et m* (erased); 15 July *Diuisio app*; 18 July *Transl Arnulfi ep*; 19 July *Rufine v et m*; 20 July *Victoris m*, (Add:) *Margarite v*; 24 July *Cristine v et m*; 26 July (Add:) *Anne dei genitricis Marie matris*; 27 July *Frominii ep Metensis*; 28 July *Pantaleonis m*; 29 July (Add:) *Felicis Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis Marthe hospite Christi*; 6 Aug. *Syxti et Agapiti m*; 9 Aug. *Auctoris ep Metensis*; 12 Aug. (Add:) *Clare v*; 16 Aug. *Arnulfi ep*, (Add:) *Rochi cf*; 19 Aug. *Magni m*; 21 Aug. *Priuati ep et cf*; 23 Aug. *Vig Apollinaris m*; 25 Aug. *Genesii m*, (Add:) *Ludouici cf*; 27 Aug. *Rufi ep Metensis*; 31 Aug. *Paulini ep et cf*; 1 Sept. *Prisci m*; 3 Sept. *Mansueti et Remacli epp*; 4 Sept. *Marcelli m*; 6 Sept. *Gondulphi ep Metensis*; 10 Sept. (Add:) *Nicolai de Tolentino*; 13 Sept. *Amati ab*; 16 Sept. (Add:) *Eufemie*; 17 Sept. *Lamberti ep et cf*; 19 Sept. *Goerici ep Metensis*; 23 Sept. *Tecle v*; 25 Sept. *Sergii et Bachi*, (Add:) *Cleophe disc domini MEM*; 26 Sept. (Add:) *Cipriani ep et Iustine v*; 1 Oct. *Remigi ep et cf*; 4 Oct. (Add:) *Francisci cf*; 6 Oct. (Add:) *Patriarcharum Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob ix lc*; 7 Oct. (Add:) *Sergii et Bachi*; 10 Oct. *Gereonis et soc*; 14 Oct. *Celestis ep Metensis*, (Add:) *Calixti pp 3 lc*; 16 Oct. *Galli ab*; 21 Oct. *XI milium vv*; 22 Oct. (Add:) *Marie Iacobi et Salome*; 23 Oct. *Seuerini ep et cf*; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani*; 29 Oct. *Terentii ep Metensis*; 31 Oct. *Quintini m*; 2 Nov. (Add:) *Eustochii et soc*; 4 Nov. *Amantii ep et cf*; 6 Nov. *Melanii ep et cf*, (Add:) *Leonardi 3 lc*; 10 Nov. (Add:) *Martini pp et m 3 lc*; 11 Nov. (Add:) *Martini ep*; 17 Nov. *Aniani ep et cf*, (Add:) *3 lc*; 18 Nov. *Romani m*, (Add:) *3 lc*; 19 Nov. *Symplicii ep*, (Add:) *3 lc Elisabeth*; 21 Nov. (Add:) *Scilomini cf 9 lc*; 26 Nov. *Lini pp et m*, (Add:) *9 lc*; 28 Nov. *Syle(?) ap*; 1 Dec. *Eligii et Agevici epp*; 3 Dec. *Firmini ep*; 5 Dec. (Add:) *Sabe ab 9 lc*; 8 Dec. *Eucharii ep et cf*, (Add:) *Conceptionis s Marie*; 11 Dec. *Clodulfi ep et cf Metensis*; 17 Dec. (Add:) *Lazari*; 25 Dec. *Anastasie*; 29 Dec. *Thome ep et m.*

Calendar of Metz, adapted to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre; see full text in Appendix.

A certain number of Carmelite feasts have been added in 14th-, 15th-, and 16th-century Italian hands: 1 Jan. Eodem [die] *Basilii*; 6 Jan. *Petrithome ep et m ordinis nostri D* (Petrus Thomasius, patriarch of Constantinople, † 1366, never formally canonized, his feast authorized among Carmelites in 1608); 14 Jan. *Dionisii ordini nostri pp et m D*; 28 Jan. *Cirilli patriarche Alexandrini D ordinis nostri*; 11 Feb. *Eufrasina v ordinis nostri D*; 12 Feb. *Spiridonis ep et cf ordinis nostri D*; 25 Feb. *Auertani cf ordinis nostri D*; 6 Mar. *Cirili ep et cf ordinis nostri*; 23 Mar. *Sophie v et m ordinis nostri.*

4. (p. 15-16) Additio, 13th c : Festa et ieiunia
(15) [Orationes.] *Saluator mundi domine...* (*AH* LI no. 46 ; *RH* no. 17.808) ; Hec sunt festa que cum ieiuniis et sine ieiunio in domo Templi seruantur... ; *Te inuocamus te adoramus te laudamus o beata trinitas...* (R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols, Rome, 1963-79 (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes, 7-12), III p. 5119) ; (16) *O gloriosa virgo dei genitrix Maria que dominum omnium meruisti portare...celestia regna mereamur peruenire. Per.*

2 columns of 35 lines, different contemporary hand, brown ink.

5. (p. 17-155) Psalterium feriatum, noted
(17) *Venite exultemus domino iubilemus deo salutari nostro.* P. *Venite.* Hymnus. *Nocte surgentes vigilemus...[Beatus vir] qui non abiit in consilio...* - (154) [Oremus.] *Pietate tua quesumus domine nostrorum solue vincula omnium delictorum...* (155)... *ac defunctis vitam et requiem eternam concede. Per eundem.*

6. (p. 151-153) Litaniae sanctorum
(151) *Kyrieleyson... Petre, Paule, Andrea, Iacobe, Iohannes, Thoma, Iacobe, Philippe, Bartholomee, Mathee, Symon, Thadee, Luca, Barnabe, Marce, Mathie* (Apostoli et Evangelistae) ; *ss Innocentes, Stephane, Line, Clete, Clemens, Sixte, Laurenti, Vincenti, Grisogone, Dyonisi c.s.t., Maurici c.s.t., Eustachi c.s.t., Cristophore, Georgi, Leodegari, Quintine, Thoma, Fabiane, Sebastiane* (Martyres) ; *Silvester, Leo, Martine, Augustine, Gregori, Ambrosi, Nicholae, Hylari, Romane, Andoene* (bp of Rouen), *Germane, Ursine* (patron saint of Bourges), *Taurine* (bp of Évreux), *Iuliane, Laude* (bp of Coutances), *Albine, Paterne* (bp of Vannes or Avranches), *Ieronime, Benedicte, Maure, Egidi, Philiberte* (ab of Jumiéges), *Anthonii, Macharii* (Confessores) ; *Maria Magdalene, Maria Egyptiaca, Barbara, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Agnes, Lucia, Cecilia, Anastasia, Katerina, Margareta, Petronilla, Fides, Sabina, Iustina, Praxedis, Scolastica, Abstreberta* (ab of Pavilly), *Potentiana.*
(153) *Ut misericordia et pietatis...* ; *Ut ecclesiam tuam...* ; *Ut dominum apostolicum...* ; *Ut episcopos et prelatos et omnes congregationes illis commissas in sancta religione conservare d[igneris]. R. Ut regibus et principibus nostris pacem et concordiam atque victoriam donare d[igneris]. R. Ut oculos mosericordie tue...* ; *Ut mentes nostras...* ; *Ut obsequium seruitutis...* ; *Ut locum nostrum et omnia loca regularibus disciplinis...* ; *Ut fructus terre...* ; *Ut dies et actus nostros...* ; *Ut miserias pauperum...* ; *Ut amicis et benefactoribus...* ; *Ut inimicis nostris...* ; *Ut animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum...* ; *Ut remissionem omnium peccatorum...* ; *Ut nos exaudire digneris.*

7. (p. 157-646) Proprium de tempore, noted
(157) Sabbato in aduentu domini. Ad vesperas. A. *Benedictus.* P. *Ipsum.* Cap. *Qui venturus est veniet et non tardabit...* - (646) [Dominica xxv ad matutinas.] A. *Cum vidissent turbe signum...*P. *Magnific. euauae.*
(251) 29 Dec. *[Thome m]* ; (450) *In die s Pasche* ; (539) *Dominica i post oct Pentecostes* ; (646) *Dominica xxv.*

8. (p. 647-939) Proprium de sanctis
(647) In vig s Andree ap omnia fiant de s Saturnino preter omeliam. Lectio prima secundum Iohannem. *I.i.t. stabat Iohannes et ex discipulis eius duo...* - (939) Saturnini ep. Or. *Deus qui nos b Saturnini...meritis adiuuari.* Per.
(654) 1 Dec *Eligii* ; (655) 4 Dec. *Barbare* ; 5 Dec. *Sabbe ab* ; 6 Dec. *Nicholai ix lc.* ; (666) 17 Dec. *In festo s Lazari* ; (Add : in the lower margin) *Memoria s Lazari* ; (669) 13 Jan. *Hylarii et Remigi* ; 15 Jan. *Mauri ab* ; (692) 24 Jan. *Thimothei* ; (700) 26 Jan. *Policarpi* ; 27 Jan. *Iuliani* ; 30 Jan. *Mathie ep Ierusalem* ; *In Purificatione b Marie* ; (710) 3 Feb. *Blasi* ; (719) 6 Feb. *Vedasti et Amandi* ; 10 Feb. *Scolastice* ; (723-728) Music without staves ; (728) 18 Mar. *Alexandri ep Ierusalem* ; 21 Mar. *Benedicti ab* ; (729) 25 Mar. *In festo Annunciatione* ; (737) 4 Apr. *Ambrogio* ; (743) 25 Apr. *Marci ev* ; (749) 2 May *Athanasii* ; *Inventio s Crucis*, (757) 4 May *Quiriaci* ; (758) 9 May *Nicholae* ; 24 May *Donatiani et Rogaciani* ; 28 May *Germani* ; 8 June *Medardi et Gildardi* ; (759) 11 June *Barnaba* ; 13 June *Antonii cf* ; (760) 16 June *Quirici et Iulitte*, (769) 25 June *Eligii* ; (786) 4 July *Transl s Martini* ; (788) 20 July *Margarete v* ; 22 July *Marie Magdalene* ; (794) 23 July *Apollinaris* ; 25 July *Cristofori et Cucuphatis* ; (795) 27 July *Septem dormientium* ; 31 July *Germani* ; (797) 3 Aug. *Inventio s Stephani* ; (798) 6 Aug. *Transfiguratione domini* ; (809^{r}) *In festo Assumptione* ; (821) 20 Aug. *Bernardi ab Claravallensis* ; (828) 22 Aug. *In oct b Marie* ; *Tymothei et Simphoriani* ; (829) 23 Aug. *Zachei ep* ; 24 Aug. *Audoeni* ; 27 Aug. *Ruphi* ; 28 Aug. *Augustini* ; (832) 28 Aug. *Hermen et Iuliani* ; (844) 1 Sept. *Egidii* ; (852) 13 Sept. *Maurilii cf* ; (856) 17 Sept. *Lamberti* ; (864) 22 Sept. *Mauricii et soc.* ; (865^{r}) 25 Sept. *Cleophe disc domini* ; (874) 1 Oct. *Remigi et Germani* ; 2 Oct. *Leodegari* ; 6 Oct. *Patriarcharum Abraham Isaac et Iacob* ; *Fidis* ; 7 Oct. *Sergi et Bachi* ; 9 Oct. *Dionisii et soc* ; (882) 11 Oct. *Nigasii* ; (883^{r}) 22 Oct. *Marci ep Ierusalem et m* ; 23 Oct. *Romani Rothomagensis arch* ; (885) 29 Oct. *Narcisi ep* ; 31 Oct. *Quintini* ; 1 Nov. *In festo omnium ss* ; (903) 2 Nov. *[Comm defunctorum]* ; (909) 2 Nov. *Eustachii sociorumque eius* ; (910) 6 Nov. *Leonardi cf* ; 8 Nov. *Claudii sociorumque eius* ; (919) 13 Nov. *In festo s*

Brictii; (921) 18 Nov. *In oct s Martini*; 17 Nov. *Aniani ep*; (931) 25 Nov. *Katherine*; (939) *Petri ep [Alexandrini] et m*; 26 Nov. *Lini pp et m*; 29 Nov. *Saturnini ep*.

9. (p. 939-947) In dedicatione ecclesiae
(939) A. *Hec est domus domini firmiter edificata...* - (947) Or. *Deus qui de viuis et electis lapidibus...amplificetur augmentis. Per.*

10. (p. 947-988) Commune sanctorum
(947) In vigilia app communi officium ad matutinas. Inuit. Hymn. A. et cetera dicantur secundum feriam qualis euenerit... - (988) [In nat plurimarum vv.] Ad matutinas. A. *Ante thorum*...P. *Cantate .ii.*
(948) In vig unius ap; (956) In nat unius m; (961) In nat plurimorum mm; (967) In nat unius cf ep; (975) In nat unius cf non ep; (978) In nat plurimorum cff; (981) In nat unius v; (985) De v non m; (988) In nat plurimarum vv.

11. (p. 989-990) Additiones, 13/14th c.
a. (989) [Or. ad BMV.] *O intemerata et in eternum benedicta singularis atque incomparabilis virgo...et filio consustantialis et cetera...in secula seculorum amen* (Leroquais, *Livres d'Heures*, II p. 336 no. xxi).
b. Blessing for the lessons at Matins.

viii (paper) + 990 p. (plus 113bis and 113ter). Parchment. Black ink; p. 15-16 brown ink. 202 × 146 mm (135 × 85 mm), 2 columns of 32 lines (p. 18). The original collation is impossible to figure out; many leaves have been glued to gatherings of irregular formation. Pagination by Cirillo de Gubernatis. Littera textualis rotunda. Music on four-line red staves. Leroquais dates 1240-44; Buchthal 1229-44; Folda *c.*1240; Minervini *c.*1232-44; for my dating, to the patriarchate of Jacques Pantaleon (arrived in Acre 1256 died 1261), see Chapter III.
Decoration: Historiated initials on gold on p. 17, 37, 59, 71, 85, 99, 112, 212, 227; some initials are decorated with animals and chimeras on gold; other initials are supplied in red or blue with penwork decoration.
Binding: Eighteenth/nineteenth-century(?) quarter deer, the spine gold-tooled. Title lettered in gold on a rectangular red leather label at head of the spine: «Breviarium canonicorum templi Ierosolimitani». Restored 19 March 1947. 212 × 147 × 78 mm.
Origin: Acre.
Provenance: Acre, Templars; see list of feasts and fasting days on p. 15. Probably Cyprus; see addition of Scilominus (21 Nov.) to the calendar.
Ownership: Piacenza, Carmelites (sixteenth century); inscription in the lower margin of p. 3, 17, 874, and 988: «Fratrum Carmelitarum Placentie». According to Cirillus de Gubernatis, this manuscript was probably annotated by the Carmelite of Piacenza Claudio Caracciolo (sixteenth century), who also annotated a breviary of the order dated 1457 and another breviary, printed in Venice in 1544, both in Piacenza. Acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale between 1740 and 1862 (after 1756); see H. Omont, *Concordances des numéros anciens et des numéros actuels des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1903, p. xliv, 129.

Old shelfmark: in the upper margin of f. 1: «Suppl. lat. 279[3]».
Bibliography: A. Trudon des Ormes, Note sur un fragment de la règle latine du temple, in *Melanges Julien Havet*, Paris, 1895; repr. Geneva, 1972, p. 355-8; Leroquais, *Les breviaires manuscrits*, III p. 189-92 no. 594; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 39 n. 63; J. J. Boyce, The Search for the Early Carmelite Liturgy: a Templar Manuscript Reassessed, in *Revista de Musicología*, 16/2, 1993, p. 957-81; Minervini p. 87.

HS[15] **MISSALE,** *1262-70*

London, British Library, ms. Egerton 3153 Acre

1. (f. 1r) Additiones
a. (1r) 14th-c. cursive hand: [Orationes.] *N. qui nos per beatum Jeronimum confessorem sacerdotem...*; *Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut sicut b Jeronimi cf tui natalicia colimus et hostias...*; *O.s.d. qui ecclesie tue beatum Jeronimum confessorem tuum...proficiat. Per.*
b. 14/15th c. textualis rotunda: *Deus qui de indignis dignos...*; Secundum Iohannem. *I.i.t. stabat iuxta crucem domini Ihesu... et ex illa ora accepit eam discipulus in sua* (Io 19,25-27).

2. (f. 1v-7r) Calendarium
(1v) *Prima dies mensis et septima truncat ut hensis...* (Thorndike-Kibre p. 1090).
Remarks: 7 Jan. *Luciani presb*; 8 Jan. *Gudile*; 9 Jan. *Iuliani m*; 11 Jan. *Saluii*; 13 Jan. (Add: hand a of f. 1r) *Remigi*; 17 Jan. *Sulpicii archiep Bitur.* (abp of Bourges); (Add:) *Antonii ab*; 8 Feb. *Pauli ep* (bp of Verdun); 16 Feb. *Iuliane*; 7 Mar. (Add: 15th c.) *Thome* (de Aquino); 22 Mar. (Add: 15th c.) *Pauli ep Narbone* (bp of Narbonne); 5 Apr. (Add: 15th c.) *Vincentii cf de ord. Predicatorum* (Vincent Ferrer, canon. 1455); 29 Apr. (Add: 15th c.) *Petrus m de ord. Predicatorum*; 30 Apr. *Eutropii ep et m* (bp of Saintes); 8 May *Victoris m*; (Add: hand a of f. 1r) *Invencio s Michaelis*; 9 May (Add: hand a of f. 1r) *Apud Barum transl s Nicolai*; 19 May *Potentiane v*; 20 May *Austregesili arch et cf* (abp of Bourges); 22 May *Ausonii ep* (bp of Angoulême); 28 May *Germani ep et cf*; 31 May *Petronille v*; 2 June

(Add: 15th c.) *Herasmi*; 5 June *Bonefacii m*; 8 June *Medardi ep et cf*; 14 June *Aniani ep* (bp of Orléans), (Add: 15th c.) *Exuperii ep* (transl bp of Toulouse); 22 June *Albani m*; 25 June (Add: 15th c.) *Transl s Saturnini* (bp and patron saint of Toulouse) *Eligii ep*; 28 June (Add:) *Leonis pp*; 30 June *Martialis*; 5 July *Transl s Martini*; 15 July *Liberatio s Ierusalem*; 17 July (Add:) *Alexii cf*; 18 July *Arnulfi ep et cf*; 20 July (Add:) *Magarite v et m*; 26 July (Add:) *Anne matris BMV*; 28 July *Pantaleonis m*; 6 Aug. (Add: 15th c.) *Dominici cf patriarcha Predicatorum*; 9 Aug. *Romani m*; 12 Aug. (Add:) *Clare v*; 13 Aug. *Radegundis regine*; 24 Aug. *Genesii m* (Add:) *Ludouici cf*; 25 Aug. *Cirenei et Habundi m*; 31 Aug. *Paulini ep et cf* (bp of Trier); 1 Sept. *Prisci m* (Add:) *Lupi ep et cf* (bp of Sens); 2 Sept. *Antonini m*; 17 Sept. *Lamberti ep et cf*; 20 Sept. *Faustine v*; 23 Sept. *Tecle v*; 26 Sept. *Iustine v*; 4 Oct. (Add:) *In festo s Francisci*; 20 Oct. *Caprasii m* (of Agen); 21 Oct. *Seuerini ep et cf Hilarioni cf*; (Add: 14th c.) XI^{m} vv; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani*; (Add: 15th c.) *Frontonis cf* (bp of Perigueaux); 31 Oct. *Quintini m*; 6 Nov. *Leonardi cf*; 10 Nov. *Martini pp*; 25 Nov. *Petri ep et m*; 1 Dec. *Elegii ep*; 4 Dec. (Add:) *Barbare v et m*; 8 Dec. (Add:) *Conceptio BMV*; 10 Dec. *Eulalie et Valerie*; 11 Dec. *Damasi pp*; 12 Dec. *Pauli ep* (bp of Narbonne); 17 Dec. *Ignatii m Nazarii ep et m*; 29 Dec. *Thome arch Cantuariensis ecclesie*.

Full text in Appendix. In the lower margins, seventeenth-century notes in French.

3. (f. 7^{va-b}) Additio, hand b of f. 1^{r}

(7va) Bn ymaginis BMV. Or. *O.s.d. clementissima cuius dispositione cuncta...* - (7vb) [Or.] *O.s.d. qui sanctorum tuorum ymaginem seu effigies sculpiant pingi...optineat in futuro. Per dominum nostrum I.C.*

4. (f. 8ra-126ra) Proprium de tempore

(8ra) [Dominica I] aduentus domini officium. [Intr.] *[Ad] te leuaui animam [m]eam...*; Or. *[Exci]ta domine quesumus [po]tenciam tuam et veni ut ab imminen[ti]bus peccatorum nostrorum [pe]riculis te merea[m]ur protegente eripi. Qui viuis.* Lectio ad Romanos. *Fratres Scientes quia hora est, iam nos de somno surgere...* - (126ra) [Dominica xxv.] Secr. *Propicius esto domine supplicacionibus nostris...desideria transeamus. Per dominum.*

Advent to 25th Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost. The Canon of the Mass is placed between Holy Saturday and Easter.

Remarks: (65rb) Dominica in ramis palmarum, ordo ad palmas vel oliuas benedicendas; Bn palmarum; (67rb) Hic est ordo processionis in ramis palmarum more sancti Sepulchri Ierusalem. (music) *Aue rex noster fili Dauid redemptor mundi quem prophete predicauerunt...*; (71rb) Die iouis in cena domini; (82ra) ...deinde dicat sacerdos. Postcom. *Spiritum nobis domine tue caritatis infunde...pietate concordes. Per deum in unitate.* (3 lines empty) *[Vere dignum] Eterne deus et te in veneratione b Marie semper virginis collaudare benedicere et predicare...effudit I.C. dominum nostrum. Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli.*

(In the rest of the page, blank, add. in hand b of f. 1^{r}) *In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contento suscipiamur domine a te... Suscipe sancta trinitas \unus deus/ hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus... omnium fidelium defunctorum. Qui viuit.*

5. (f. 82va-86vb) Ordo missae

(82va) *P[er om]nia secula seculorum. Amen...* - (86vb) *...Placeat tibi sancta trinitas...saluator mundi rex glorie. Qui viuis et regnas.*

(83va) [Canon missae.] *T[e igitur] clementissime pater...*; (83vb) *Memento domine famulorum...*; *Communicantes...*; (84rb) *Hanc igitur oblacionem...*; (85rb) *Nobis quoque... Iohanne Stephano Mathia Barnaba Ignatio Alexandro Marcellino Petro Felicitate Perpetua Agatha Lucia Agnete Cecilia Anastasia...*; (85vb) *Pater noster...*; *Libera nos...*

Proprium de tempore (cont.)

(86vb) In die s Pasche; (106va) Alleluia verses for the Sundays after the octave of Pentecost.

6. (f. 126^{r-v}) In dedicatione ecclesiae

126ra In dedicatione ecclesie ad missam officium. [T]*erribilis est locus iste...*; R. *Locus iste a deo factus est inestimabile sacramentum.* All. V. *Adorabo ad templum...* - (126vb) Postcom. *Deus qui ecclesiam tuam sponsam vocare dignatus es...te ducente peruenire mereatur. Per.* ||

(one leaf cut out.)

7. (f. 127ra-165ra) Proprium de sanctis

(f. 127ra) || [14 Jan. Felicis in Pincis.] *[Q]ui vos audit me audit.* Require ante in sanctorum. R. *Veritas mea et misericordia mea cum ipso et in nomine meo exaltabitur cornu eius.* Secr. *Hostias tibi domine b Felicis cf tui dicatas meritis benignus assume et ad perpetuum nobis tribue prouenire subsidium...* - (165ra) [Thome ap.] Postcom. *Adesto nobis misericors deus et intercedente b Thoma ap tuo tue cura nos propitiationis dona custodi. Per.*

(127va) 17 Jan. (Add:) *Antonii ab*; 18 Jan. (Add:) *Prisce v*; (128ra) 20 Jan. *Fabiani et Sebastiani*; (129ra) 21 Jan. *Agnetis*; (129va) 22 Jan. *Vincentii*; 25 Jan. *Pauli*; (130vb) 28 Jan. *Agnetis secundo*; 2 Feb. *In Purificatione s Marie*; (133ra) 5 Feb. *Agathe v*; (133vb) 16 Feb. *Iuliane m*; 17 Feb. *Iuliani m*; (134rb) 14 Feb. *Valentiniani (sic) Vitalis Felicule et Zenonis*; (134va) 22 Feb. *In cathedra s Petri*; (135rb) 24 Feb. *Mathie ap*; (135vb) 7 Mar. *Perpetue et Felicitatis*; 12 Mar. *Gregorii*; (136rb) 21 Mar. *Benedicti ab*; (136va) 25 Mar. *In Annunciatione BMV*; (137ra) 14 Apr. *Tiburcii et Valeriani*; (137rb) 23 Apr. *Georgii m*; (137vb) 25 Apr. *Marci ev*; (138ra) 28 Apr. *Vitalis m*; (138rb) 1 May *Philippi et Iacobi*; (138vb) 3 May *Alexandri Euentii et Theodoli*; (139ra) *In Inuentione s*

Crucis; (139vb) 6 May *Iohannis ap*; 10 May *Gordiani et Epimachi*; (140ra) 12 May *Nerei et Achillei atque Pancratii*; (140va) 25 May *Urbani pp*; 1 June *Nichomedis m*; (140vb) 2 June *Marcellini et Petri*; *atque Herasmi* (bp of Formies, Naples); 9 June *Primi et Feliciani*; (141ra) 11 June *Barnabe ap*; (141rb) 12 June *Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Nazarii*; (Add: in the lower margin, hand b of f. 1^{r}) *Missa de s Exuperio* (translation); (141va) 15 June *Viti Modesti et Crescencie*; (141vb) 17 June *Nicandri et Marciani* (patron saints of Venafro, Naples); 18 June *Marci et Marcelliani*; (142ra) 19 June *Geruasii et Prothasii*; 23 June *Vig s Iohannis Baptiste*; (142vb) 24 June *Missa in mane*; (143^{r}) (Add: in the lower margin, hand b of f. 1^{r}) *Missa de s Saturnino* (translation); (143rb) 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli*; (144ra) 28 June *Leonis pp*; (144rb) *Vig app Petri et Pauli*; (145ra) 30 June *In com. s Pauli*; (146va) 10 July *Septem fratrum*; (147ra) 23 July *Appollinaris m*; (147rb) 25 July *Iacobi ap*; (147vb) 28 July *Nazarii et Celsi*; 29 July *Felicis Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis*; (148ra) 30 July *Abdon et Sennen*; (148rb) 1 Aug. *Ad vincula s Petri*; (148va) 2 Aug. *Stephani pp*; 3 Aug. *In Inuentione s Stephani*; (148vb) 6 Aug. *In Transfiguratione domini*; (149ra) *Sixti pp*; *Felicissimi et Agapiti*; (149rb) 7 Aug. *Donati m*; 8 Aug. *Ciriaci et soc*; (149vb) 9 Aug. *In vig s Laurentii*; (150rb) 10 Aug. *In die*; (151ra) 11 Aug. *Tiburcii*; (151rb) 13 Aug. *Ypoliti*; (151va) 14 Aug. *Eusebeii*; *Vig Assumptionis BMV*; (152rb) 15 Aug. *In die Assumptionis BMV*; (153rb) 17 Aug. *Oct s Laurentii*; (153va) 18 Aug. *Agapiti m*; 22 Aug. *Timothei et Simphoriani*; 24 Aug. *Bartholomei ap*; (154ra) *Audoeni cf*; 27 Aug. *Rufi*; 28 Aug. *Hermetis*; (154rb) *Augustini* (Add: hand a of f. 1^{r}, in the margin) Hic debet esse officium s Augustini ep et cf et est festum precipuum; (154va) 29 Aug. *Sabine v*; (154vb) *In decollatione s Iohannis*; (155rb) 30 Aug. *Felicis et Adaucti*; (155va) 1 Sept. *Prisci m*; *Egidii ab*; (155vb) 8 Sept. *In nat s Marie*; (156rb) 9 Sept. *Gorgonii m*; (156va) 11 Sept. *Proti et Iacincti*; (156vb) 14 Sept. *Exaltatio s Crucis*; (157rb) 15 Sept. *Nichomedis*; 16 Sept. *Eufemie v*; (157va) 21 Sept. *Mathei ap*; (158ra) 22 Sept. *Mauricii cum soc*; 27 Sept. *Cosme et Damiani*; 29 Sept. *Michaelis arch*; (159rb) 4 Oct. *Marci cf*; (Add: hand a of f. 1^{r}, outer margin) Hic debet esse officium s Ieronimi et s Francisci; (159va) 9 Oct. *Dionisii Rustici et Eleutherei*; (159vb) 18 Oct. *Luce ev*; (160ra) 27 Oct. *Vig Simonis et Iude*; (160rb) 28 Oct. *In die*; 30 Oct. *Germani ep* (bp of Capua); (160va) 31 Oct. *Vig omnium ss*; (160vb) 1 Nov. *In die*; (161vb) *Cesarii m*; (162ra) 8 Nov. *Quattuor coronatorum*; 9 Nov. *Theodori m*; (162rb) 11 Nov. *Menne m*; *Martini cf*; (162va) 22 Nov. *Cecilie*; (162vb) 23 Nov. *Clementis m*; (163ra) *Felicitatis v*; 24 Nov. *Grisogoni m*; 29 Nov. *Saturnini*; (Add: hand b of f. 1^{r}, lower margin) *Saturnini* (deposition); (163rb) 29 Nov. *In vig s*

Andree ap; (163vb) 30 Nov. *In nat*; (164rb) 6 Dec. *Nicholai ep*; 13 Dec. *Lucie v*; (164vb) 21 Dec. *Thome ap*.

8. (f. 165ra-181ra) Commune sanctorum
(165ra) Incipit sanctorum omnium app mm et cff et vv. Primum in vig unius ap ad missam. *[E]go autem sicut oliua...* - (181ra) [In nat plurimarum vv.] Postcom. *Hec nos domine quesumus gratia tua semper exerceat...sollemnitate letificent. Per dominum nostrum I.C.*
(166vb) In vig plurimorum app; (167ra) In die; (167rb) In vig unius m; (168ra) In nat unius m; (170vb) In nat plurimorum mm; (173vb) In vig unius cf; (174va) In nat unius cf et pont; (177va) Missa in nat plurimorum cff; (178rb) Missa in nat unius cf et ab; (178va) Missa in nat unius v; (179vb) In nat plurimarum vv.

9. (f. 181ra-185vb) Missae votivae
(181ra) Missa in honore s trinitatis officium. *Benedicte sit s trinitas atque indiuisa unitas...* - (185vb) [Missa pro inimicis.] Postcom. *Hec nos communio domine exuat a delictis...periculis. Per.*
(182ra) Missa in honore omnium angelorum; (182rb) De s caritate; (182va) Pro salute populi; In honore s Crucis; (183ra) In honore s Marie; (183rb) Omnium sanctorum; (183va) Quam sacerdos pro se ipso debet cantare; Pro speciali amico; (183vb) Pro amicis viuentibus; Pro congregatione; (184ra) Alia; Pro confitentibus peccata; (183rb) Pro conpunctione lacrimarum; Pro cogiti malis; Pro temptatione carnis; (184va) Pro quacumque tribulatione; Pro iter agentibus; (184vb) Pro concordia fratrum; Pro pace; Pro hostibus; Pro mortalitate hominum; (185ra) Pro nauigantibus; Ad pluuiam postulandam; (185rb) Pro serenitate; Ad repellendam tempestatem; Pro papa vel episcopo; (185va) Pro peste animalium; Pro inimicis.

10. (f. 185vb-189vb) Missae pro defunctis
(185vb) Missa pro viuis et defunctis. *Sanctorum tuorum intercessionibus quesumus domine ec nos protege...* - (189vb) [Missa pro viuis et defunctis.] Postcom. *Purificent nos quesumus omnipotens et misericors deus...remissio omnium delictorum. Qui viuis.*
(186ra) Missa defunctorum; (187va) Missa in die depositionis seu iii vel vii vel xxx; Pro episcopo vel sacerdote; (188ra) Pro femina; (188rb) Pro congregatione; (188va) Pro patre et matre; Pro his qui in cimiterio requiescunt; (188vb) Pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis; (189rb) In anniuersario; (189va) Pro viuis et defunctis.

11. (f. 189^{v}) Additiones, 13th c.
a. (189^{v}) Missa BMV. Quam fecit dominus Inocentus papa III. *A cunctis...* (*PL* CCXVII col. 917-18; VAN DIJK, *The Ordinal*, p. xxix

n. 8, 152; VAN DIJK, *Sources*, II p. 321 no. 9); Missa contra persecutores ecclesie. *Ecclesie tue quesumus domine preces placatus amitte...*; Secr. *Protege nos domine quesumus tuis misteriis...*; Postcom. *Quesumus domine deus noster ut quos diuine tribuis participatione gaudere...periculis.*
b. Hand b of f. 1^{r}, lower margin. *A domo tua quesumus domine spirituales nequitie repellantur...*; [Postcom.] *O.s.d. qui nos et castigando sanas...et dono tue pietatis semper utamur. Per dominum.*

12. (f. 190ra-192^{v}) Additiones, 13th-14th c.
a. Original hand, with music: (190ra) [De BMV.] *Nostra salus quoque mundi veraque vita o dei nostri genitrix pia...mediatrix nostra que est post deum spes sola tuo filio nos representa vt in poli aula leti iubilemus omnes alleluia.* (190rb) De s Augustino cf. *Interni festi gaudia nostra sonet armonica...fide recta ac feruida det nobis mater gratia. Amen.* (190vb) In nat s Marie. *Die celeste hec non et perhenne paraphonista cum mera simphonia...tuba et canora pallidonias canta. Nam omnis usia*| |
b. Different contemporary hand: (191ra) *Aue maris stella dei mater alma porta spei...* (192ra) *casta prudens et fidelis impetrare nobis velis gaudia perpetua. Amen.*
c. Hand b of f. 1^{r}: (192rb) Bn panis. *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini...*; Or. *Benedic domine creaturam istam...sanitatem. Quitecum viuis et regnas in.*
d. Different 14th-c. hand: Oratio pro infirmis. *O.s.d. deus salus eterna credentium exaudi...*; Postcom. *Deus infirmitatis humane singulare presidium...ecclesie tue sancte [representari mereatur].*
e. Different 14th-c. hand: [On Peter and Paul.] *Benedicat nobis omnipotens deus qui nos b Petri saluberrima confessione...alter cruce alter gladio hodierna* [***] [***].
f. (192va) Addition in a rounder 13th-c. hand: *Gaudeamus omnes in domine diem fe. La[r]gire nobis clementissime pater quod sicut b Maria Magdalene dominum nostrum I.C. super omnia diligendo...beatitudinem. Per. Mulierum fortem quis inueniet procul et de ultimis finibus...Date ei de fructu manuum suarum et laudent eam in portis opera eius*| |

192 f. Parchment. Brown ink. 228 × 170 mm (159 × 51 mm), 2 columns of 36 lines written below top line, space between columns 8 mm (f. 8^{v}). Collation: $1\text{-}6^{8}$ $7^{8\text{-}1}$ (wants 6) 8^{8} $9^{8\text{-}2}$ (wants 7 and 8) $10^{8\text{-}4}$ (wants 1,3,5, and 6) $11\text{-}16^{8}$ $17^{8\text{-}1}$ (wants 7) 18^{8} $19^{8\text{-}1}$ (wants 8) $20^{8\text{-}1}$ (wants 3). Flesh side out. Pricking partially visible in the outer margins. Ruling with lead. One leaf missing between f. 142 and 143, 126 and 127 (beginning of the sanctoral), 144 and 145. Contemporary foliation in Roman numerals, in red ink, in the middle of the upper margin of the versos, up to f. lxxix; then in brown ink, in a different contemporary hand, at head of the outer margin of the versos, in correspondence with the

first line of text. Foliated in pencil in 1940; see label pasted onto rear endleaf. Norman minuscule. Square musical notation on a red four-line stave. Buchthal dates 1250-75; Folda 1250s; the presence, in the calendar, of saints from the south-western area of France suggests that the manuscript was written during the patriarchate of William II of Agen (1262-70).
DECORATION: On f. 83^{r} full-page miniature of the Crucifixion; see BUCHTHAL pl. 57b. On f. 81va, 82va, 83va, 98vb, 126ra, 147rb, 155vb, 160vb, 161ra, and 165ra two- to seven-line decorated initials are supplied in gold and colours (mostly in blue, brown, and gold). Other pen-flourished initials are supplied in gold, red, or blue, with blue or red penwork decoration. The calendar is compiled in brown, red, or blue entries, Thomas of Canterbury's entry is written with each syllable in a different colour.
MS ANNOTATIONS: Marginal notes, mainly supplementing the text, in hands a and b of f. 1^{r}. On f. 192^{r} inscription dated 1430: «anno domini m.iiij.xxx. septimo et die vero xij mensis iulii [-et] \quia ipse/ infirmabatur de una tibia».
BINDING: Early-nineteenth-century calf, with the arms of Bridgewater bearing the motto: «sic donec» (ELVINE p. 183). On front pastedown the shelf location: «$ 688 d». 245 × 190 × 50 mm.
ORIGIN: Acre.
PROVENANCE: Jerusalem Patriarchate in Acre.
OWNERSHIP: Prior of Prouille, dept. Aude (fourteenth century); inscription on f. 192^{r} in a fourteenth-century hand, light brown ink: «Istud(?) missale quod ego prior Prolianj [-ego] emi propriis sumptibus emj ego dedi Laurencio Maurinj seruitori meo pro seruiciis mihi impencis et in testimonium huius manus mea».
Limoux, dept. Aude (seventeenth century); entries in the lower margins of the Calendar (f. 1^{v}-6^{v}) and of f. 72^{v} record the election of consuls and other officers of the town of Limoux 1635-1650; see L. H. FONDS-LAMOTHE, *Notices historiques sur la ville de Limoux*, Limoux, 1838, p. 261-62. Acquired by the British Museum Library in 1938, from the Bridgewater Fund; see P. R. HARRIS, *A History of the British Museum Library, 1753-1973*, London, 1998, p. 69.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1936-1945*, London, 1970, p. 341-43; BUCHTHAL p. 51, 145; FOLDA, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 22 n. 96, 159, 215 «B»; FOLDA, *I manoscritti miniati*, p. 302; MINERVINI p. 89.

HS[16] **BREVIARIUM**, *1308-15*
Saint-Wandrille, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye, ms. P. 12 — Cyprus

1. (p. 1-6) Calendarium
(1) *Istis m*| | *Ianuarius habet*| | *Iani prima dies et septima*| | (SCHALLER, *Initia*, no. 7597).

Remarks: 1 Feb. *Ignacii ep et m*; 2 Feb. *Purificatio b Marie ix lc*; 3
Feb. *Blasi ep et m*; 5 Feb. *Agathe v et m*; 6 Feb. *Vedasti et Amandi epp*;
10 Feb. *Scolastice v iii lc*; 12 Feb. *Eulalie v et m iii lc*; 14 Feb. *Valentini
presb et m iii lc*; 16 Feb. *Iuliane v iii lc*; 18 Feb. *Iherusalem Symeonis ep
et m ix lc*; 22 Feb. *Cathedra s Petri ix lc*; 24 Feb. *Mathie ap*; 27 Feb.
Iuliani m; 1 Mar. *Albini ep*; 7 Mar. *Perpetue et Felicitatis v et m iii lc*;
11 Mar. *Quadraginta mm apud Iherusalem ix lc*; 12 Mar. *Gregorii pp ix
lc*; 18 Mar. *Iherusalem Alexandri ep et m ix lc*; 21 Mar. *Benedicti ab ix
lc*; 25 Mar. *Annuntiatio dominica et Crucifixio domini*; 27 Mar. *Resur-
rectio domini*; 1 Apr. *Ambrosii ep et cf ix lc*; 13 Apr. *Euphemie v iii lc*;
14 Apr. *Tyburcii et Valeriani mm*; 23 Apr. *Georgii m ix lc*; 25 Apr.
Marci ev ix lc; 28 Apr. *Vitalis m*; 29 Apr. *Petre m*; 1 May *App Phylippi
et Jacobi*; 2 May *Atanasii ep*; 3 May *Inuentio s Crucis*; 4 May *Iherusa-
lem Quiriaci ep et m*; 6 May *Iohannis ante portam latinam*; 8 May *Inuentio
s Michaelis Petri ep et cf*; 9 May *Transl s Nicholai*; 10 May *Gordioni* (*sic*)
et Epimachi mm; 12 May *Nerei et Achillei et Pancracii mm*; 19 May
Potentiane v; 25 May *Augustini ep primi Anglorum* (erased; not in the
sanctoral); 26 May *Urbani pp*; 27 May *Germani ep*; 31 May *Petronille
v*; 1 June *Nichomedis m iii lc*; 2 June *Marcellini et Petri mm iii lc*; 5 June
Bonifacii ep iii lc (not in the sanctoral); 8 June *Medardi et Gildardi iii
lc*; 9 June *Primi et Feliciani iii lc*; 11 June *Barnabe ap ix lc*; 12 June
Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Nazarii mm; 13 June *Antonii cf fratrum
Minorum* (not in the sanctoral); 15 June *Viti et Modeste et Crescentie iii
lc*; 16 June *Cirici et Iulite mm*; 18 June *Marci et Marcelliani mm iii lc*;
19 June *Geruasi et Prothasi mm*; 22 June *Paulini ep et cf* (not in the
sanctoral); 23 June *Albani m Vig*; 24 June *Nat s Iohannis Baptiste ix
lc*; 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli mm*; 28 June *Leonis pp*; 29 June *App Petri
et Pauli ix lc*; 30 June *Comm s Pauli ix lc*; 1 July *Oct s Iohannis*; 2 July
Processi et Martiniani mm; 4 July *Transl s Martini*; 6 July *Oct app*; 7
July *Transl s Thome Cantuariensis arch* (not in the sanctoral); 10 July
Septem fratrum; 11 July *Transl s Benedicti*; 15 July *Dedicatio s Sepulchri*
(Add:) *et quando capta fuit I[erusalem]* (not in the sanctoral); 20 July
Margarite v; 21 July *Praxedis v*; 22 July *Marie Magdalene*; 23 July
Appollinaris ep et m; 25 July *Iacobi ap Christofori et Cucufati*; 26 July
Anne matris Marie (not in the sanctoral); 27 July *Septem dormientium*
(not in the sanctoral); 28 July *Pantaleonis m*; 29 July *Felicis Simplicii*
Faustini; 30 July *Abdon et Sennes mm*; 31 July *Germani ep et cf*; 1 Aug.
Ad vincula s Petri ss Machabeorum ix lc; 2 Aug. *Stephani pp et m iii lc*;
3 Aug. *Inuentio s Stephani soc. ix lc*; 5 Aug. *Dominici cf fratrum*
Predicatorum; 6 Aug. *Transfiguratio domini Syxti et Felicissimi ix lc*; 7
Aug. *Donati ep et m iii lc*; 8 Aug. *Ciriaci c.s.s. iii lc*; 9 Aug. *Romani m*
Vig iii lc; 10 Aug. *Laurentii m ix lc*; 11 Aug. *Tyburcii m iii lc*; 14 Aug.

Eusebii cf Vig; 15 Aug. *Assumptio s Marie Dupplex*; 17 Aug. *Oct s Lau-
rentii ix lc*; 18 Aug. *Agapitis m iii lc*; 20 Aug. *Bernardi ab ix lc* (not in
the sanctoral); 22 Aug. *Oct s Marie Tymothei et Symphoriani*; 23 Aug.
Iherusalem Zachei ep et cf; Vig; 24 Aug. *Bartholomei ap ix lc*; 28 Aug.
Augustini ep et cf Iuliani m ix lc; 29 Aug. *Decoll s Iohannis Baptiste Sabine
v*; 30 Aug. *Felicis et Audacti mm*; 1 Sept. *Egidii ab*; 2 Sept. *Antonii m*
(not in the sanctoral); 4 Sept. *Oct s Augustini*; 7 Sept. *Obitus Guidonis
de Ybelino anno M.ccc.v[iii]* (Guy of Ibelin, 1285/88-1308); 8 Sept.
Nat s Marie v; 9 Sept. *Gorgonii m*; 11 Sept. *Prothi et Iacincti m*; 12
Sept. *Maurili ep et cf*; 14 Sept. *Exaltatio s Crucis*; 15 Sept. *Nichomedis
m*; 16 Sept. *Euphemie v*; 17 Sept. *Lamberti ep et m* (not in the
sanctoral); 21 Sept. *Mathei ap et ev*; 22 Sept. *Mauricii c.s.s*; 23 Sept.
Thecle v; 25 Sept. *Cleophe disc*; 27 Sept. *Cosme et Damiani mm*; 29
Sept. *Michaelis arch*; 30 Sept. *Iheronimi presb*; 1 Oct. *Germani Remigi
et Vedasti cff iii lc*; 2 Oct. *Leodegari ep et m iii lc*; 4 Oct. *Nathale s Fran-
cisci cf ordinis Minorum*; 5 Oct. *Fidis v iii lc*; 6 Oct. *Abraham Ysaac et
Iacob patriarcharum ix lc*; 7 Oct. *Marci pp* (not in the sanctoral) *Sergi
et Bachi m iii lc*; 8 Oct. *Marcelli et Apulei mm iii lc*; 9 Oct. *Dyonisii Rus-
tici et Eleutherii ix lc*; 14 Oct. *Calixti pp et m iii lc*; 18 Oct. *Luce ev*; 21
Oct. *Undecim milia vv iii lc* (not in the sanctoral); 22 Oct. *Iherusalem
Marci ep et m*; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani iii lc*; 26 Oct. *Demetrii m
iii lc*; 27 Oct. *Vig*; 28 Oct. *App Symonis et Iude ix lc*; 29 Oct. *Iherusa-
lem Narcissi ep et cf ix lc*; 31 Oct. *Quintini m*; 1 Nov. *Comm omnium ss*;
2 Nov. *Comm omnium fidelium deffunctorum*; 3 Nov. *Eustachii* (not in
the sanctoral); 4 Nov. *Amancii ep et cf* (not in the sanctoral); 6 Nov.
Leonardi cf; 8 Nov. *Quatuor coronatorum*; 9 Nov. *Theodori m*; 10
Nov. *Martini pp et m*; 11 Nov. *Martini ep et cf*; 13 Nov. *Bricii ep et cf*;
18 Nov. *Oct s Martini*; 22 Nov. *Cecilie v*; 23 Nov. *Clementis pp et m*;
24 Nov. *Grisogoni m*; 25 Nov. *Katherine v Petri Alexandrini*; 29 Nov.
Saturnini m; Vig; 30 Nov. *Andree ap*; 4 Dec. *Barbare v ix lc*; 5 Dec.
Iherosolimis Sabbe ab ix lc; 6 Dec. *Nicholai ep et cf ix lc*; 7 Dec. *Oct s
Andree*; 8 Dec. *Conceptio b Marie ix lc*; 13 Dec. *Lucie v et m ix lc*; 17
Dec. *Lazarus ep et cf ix lc*; 20 Dec. *Vig*; 21 Dec. *Thome ap*; 25 Dec.
Nat domini Anastasie m Dupplex; 26 Dec. *Stephani protom ix lc*; 27
Dec. *Iohannis ap et ev Dupplex*; 28 Dec. *SS Innocentum ix lc*; 29 Dec.
Thome arch ix lc; 31 Dec. *Siluestri pp ix lc*.

All the main additions to the calendar are entered in a fairly contemporary Carmelite hand that tries to imitate the original hand. The spelling Felisis, Euzepii, Ambrozii, Grasiani may suggest an Italian scribe. Additions in a contemporary hand:

4 Feb. *Giliberti iuentra*[?] *ep et cf* (founder of the order of Sempringham); 7 Feb. *Moysetis ep et cf*; 8 Feb. *Salomonis m Paulini ep iii lc*; 9 Feb. *Ammoni et Alexandri, Apolonie v et m iii lc*; 11 Feb. *Desiderii ep et cf iii lc*; 13 Feb. *Lizini ep et cf iii lc*;

15 Feb. *Faustini et Iouite iii lc* ; 17 Feb. *Donati soc. eius, Doniti ep et cf iii lc* ; 19 Feb. *Iuliani m iii lc* ; 20 Feb. *Galli presb et cf iii lc* ; 21 Feb. *Felisis* (*sic*) *et cf iii lc* ; 23 Feb. *Policarpi presb et cf Vig iii lc* ; 26 Feb. *Alexandri ep et cf iii lc* ; 27 Feb. *Iuliani m iii lc* ; 28 Feb. *Romani ab* ; 2 Mar. *Iouini et Basilei m* ; 3 Mar. *Senatoris* ; 4 Mar. *Lucii pp* ; 5 Mar. *Euzepii et al. viii mm* ; 5 Mar. *Iuliani ep et m* ; 13 Mar. *Eufrasie v* ; 15 Mar. *Longini m* ; 16 Mar. *Patricii ep et cf* ; 17 Mar. *Geltrudis v* ; 19 Mar. *Quinti cum aliis xi mm* ; 20 Mar. *Cirili Eugenii cum iiii^or* ; 24 Mar. *Agapiti m* ; 26 Mar. *Teodori m* ; 28 Mar. *Castoris et Dorotei m* ; 2 Apr. *Marie Egipciace iii lc* ; 3 Apr. *Pancracii m iii lc* ; 4 Apr. *Ambrozii ep et cf* ; 5 Apr. *Marciane Nicanoris et Apolonie m* ; 6 Apr. *Sixte pp m iii lc* ; 7 Apr. *Donati ep et cf iii lc* ; 8 Apr. *Dionisii ep et cf iii lc* ; 9 Apr. *Prochori m iii lc* ; 10 Apr. *Appollinii presb* ; 11 Apr. *Leonis pp* ; 12 Apr. *Costantini ep et m* ; 15 Apr. *Maronis m* ; 16 Apr. *Calixti et Carisii m* ; 17 Apr. *Petri diac cf* ; 18 Apr. *Eleuterii ep et cf* ; 19 Apr. *Ermogenis cum aliis vii mm* ; 20 Apr. *Victoris pp et m* ; 21 Apr. *Simeonis ep et m* ; 22 Apr. *Epipodoii m* ; 24 Apr. *Alexandri m* ; 26 Apr. *Cleti pp et m* ; 5 May *Hilarii ep et cf* ; 7 May *Flavii ep et cf* ; 11 May *Poncii m* ; 13 May *Marie ad martyres* ; 14 May *Poncii m* ; 15 May *Bonifacii et Ysidoni m* ; 16 May *Aquilini et Victoriani m* ; 17 May *Torpetis m* ; 18 May *Dioscori m* ; 20 May *Bassille v* ; 28 May *Martini ab et cf* ; 29 May *Maximi ep et cf* ; 30 May *Felicis pp et m* ; 3 June *Lifradi cf* ; 4 June *Quirini ep et cf* ; 6 June *Ss xx mm* ; 7 June *Pauli ep et m* ; 10 June *Miri ep et cf* ; 14 June *Rufini et Valerii m Basili ep et cf* ; 17 June *Quiriaci m* ; 20 June *Pauli et Siriaci m* ; 21 June *Euzebii ep et cf* ; 25 June *Transl s Eligii ep et cf* ; 27 June *Crescentis ep et cf* ; 3 July *Anatolii ep* ; 5 July *Domicii m* ; 13 July *Anacleti pp* ; 14 July *Eraclee ep* ; 16 July *Eustachii ep et cf* ; 17 July *Marine v Alexii cf* ; 18 July *Arnulfi ep et m* ; 19 July *Arsenii cf* ; 24 July *Christine v* ; 7 Aug. *Alberti ordinis Carmelitarum SD* ; 12 Aug. *Clare v* ; 16 Aug. *Arnulfi ep et cf* ; 19 Aug. *Magni m* ; 21 Aug. *Anastacii m* ; 25 Aug. *Genesii m Ludouici regis Francorum* ; 26 Aug. *Alexandrii m* ; 1 Sept. *Pri[s]ci m* ; 2 Sept. *Mame* ; 5 Sept. *Bertini ab* ; 6 Sept. *Donaciani soc* ; 10 Sept. *Hilarii m* ; 13 Sept. *Sirii et Euencii ep et cf* ; 18 Sept. *Ferreoli m* ; 19 Sept. *Eustachi ep et cf* ; 20 Sept. *Fauste v* ; 24 Sept. *Germani ab* ; 26 Sept. *Cipriani ep et m* ; 28 Sept. *Exuperii ep et cf* ; 3 Oct. *Marci et Marcelliani* ; 10 Oct. *Paulini ep et cf* ; 11 Oct. *Nichasii c.s.s* ; 12 Oct. *Taraci Proli* (i.e. Probi) *et Andronici* ; 13 Oct. *Gerardi cf* ; 15 Oct. *Fortunati m Antiochi ep* ; 15 Oct. *Ambrosii ep* ; 16 Oct. *Marceli m et Florencii ep et cf* ; 18 Oct. *Iusti m* ; 19 Oct. *Tolomei et Luci m Santi Amati cf* ; 20 Oct. *Zosimi cf Capracii m* ; 21 Oct. *Ilarionis cf* ; 23 Oct. *Seuerini ep* ; 24 Oct. *Seuerini cf Columbani m* ; 27 Oct. *Florencii m Yuo cf* ; 30 Oct. *Serapionis ep et cf* ; 3 Nov. *Georgii m* ; 4 Nov. *Clari ep* ; 5 Nov. *Felicis presb* ; 7 Nov. *Achile ep* ; 12 Nov. *Emiliani presb* ; 14 Nov. *Serapionis m* ; 15 Nov. *Eugenii m Macuti ep et cf* ; 16 Nov. *Eucherii cf* ; 17 Nov. *Aniani ep et cf* ; 19 Nov. *Elizabeth Maximi presb* ; 20 Nov. *Ponciani pp* ; 21 Nov. *Presentacio b Marie Columbani ab Sosom[eni]* ; 26 Nov. *Lini pp* ; 27 Nov. *Alexandri ep* ; 28 Nov. *Rufi* ; 1 Dec. *Eligi ep et cf* ; 2 Dec. *Viuiane v* ; 3 Dec. *Birini ep* ; 9 Dec. *Cipriani ab* ; 10 Dec. *Eulalie v* ; 11 Dec. *Damaçi pp* ; 12 Dec. *Spiridionis ep* ; 14 Dec. *Nicasii ep* ; 15 Dec. *Valeriani ep* ; 16 Dec. *Ananie Azarie Misael* ; 18 Dec. *Grasiani ep* ; 19 Dec. *Clementis presb* ; 22 Dec. *Teodocie v* ; 23 Dec. *Seruuli cf* ; 24 Dec. *Gregorii presb* ; 30 Dec. *Sabini ep.*

The following entries are added in a fifteenth-century hand (*c.*1465) : 9 Jan. *Dedicacio Beati* [***] ; 6 Feb. *Pantaleonis m* ; 7 Feb. *Desideri ep et cf* ; 17 Apr. *Anacleti pp* ; 25 Apr. *Georgi m in Pedemoncium* ; 5 May *Floriani* ; 9 May *Gregori et Nazari* ; 11 May *Epiphani* ; 16 May *Victoris* ; 20 May *Eustachi* ; 22 May *Desideri* ; 23 May *Eleuteri* ; 24 May *Iohannis pp* ; 1 June *Proculi ep et m* ; 3 and 6 June *Claudi archiep et cf* ; 8 July *Secundini m* ; 9 July *Brici* ; 12 July *Naboris et Felicis* ; 20 July *Helye proph* ; 27 July *Nazari et Celsi* ; 4 Aug. *Iustini presb et m* ; 5 Aug. *Festum s Marie de niui[s ?]* ;

3 Sept. *Candide* ; 10 Sept. *Adriani* ; 16 Sept. *Lucie et Geminiani* ; 18 Sept. *Ianuari* ; 23 Sept. *Lini pp* ; 28 Sept. *Faustini et Iouite* ; 4 Oct. *Petroni ep et cf Bononie patronus* ; 8 Oct. *Benedicte v* ; 12 Oct. *Ciriaci et Iulite* ; 13 Oct. *Leuteri m* ; 26 Nov. *Iacobi* ; 27 Nov. *Vitalis et [Agricole]* ; 7 Dec. *Ambrosii ep doctoris ecclesie Duplex.*

The following entries are underlined in black ink in a seventeenth-century Carmelite hand from Bologna : 20 July *Helye proph fondatoris Carmelitarum* ; 22 Aug. *Anastacii m* ; 4 Oct. *Petronius* (within a frame) ; 13 Oct. *Gerardi* ; 21 Oct. *Ilarionis* ; 30 Oct. *Serapionis* ; 14 Nov. *Serapionis* ; 12 Dec. *Spiridionis.*

2. (p.1^a) Rubricae

(1^a) Dominica post trinitatem ad matutinas Inuitatorium quod dicitur usque ad kalendas augusti. *Deum verum unum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate...*Ps. *Venite exult....*A. quod dicitur a dominica post trinitatem usque aduentum domini et al. A. quod dicitur a dominica qua incipitur usque ad dominicam in passione. *Pro fidei meritis. euouae.* | *Domine in ira* | *seruite domino in ti[more]. euouae.*

3. (p. 1^a-102^a) Psalterium feriatum

(1^a) Incipit psalmus Dauid. [B]*eatus vir...* - (101^a) Ps. *Benedicite omni opera domino...exaltatus eum in secula* ; (101^b) Laus angelorum. *Te deum laudamus...* ; (102^a) Ps. *Magnificat anima mea...et senum eius in secula. Gloria patri. Sicut erat.*

4. (p. 102^b-103^b) Litaniae sanctorum

(102^b) *Kyrieleyson...* - (103^b) [Or.] *Fidelium deus omnium conditor et redemptor...supplicationibus consequatur. Qui viuis.*

Iohannes Baptista (Patriarchae et Prophetae) ; *Petre, Paule, Andrea, Iohannes, Iacobe, Philippe, Bartholomee, Mathee, Thoma, Iacobe, Thadee, Mathia, Barnaba, Lucha, Marce* (Apostoli, Evangelistae et Discipuli) ; *Innocentes, Stephane, Laurenti, Vincenti, Line, Clete, Clemens, Corneli, Cypriane, Georgi Syxte, Blasi, Grisogone, Christofore, Cosma et Damiane, Fabiane et Sebastiane, Abdon, Iohannes et Paule, Dyonisii c.s.t., Mauritii c.s.t.* (Martyres) ; *Siluester, Leo, Gregori, Hylari, Martine, Ambrosi, Augustine, Leonardi, Nicholae, Ieronime, Benedicte, Egidi, Maure, Francisce, Francisce, Antonii, Columbane* (Monachi, Heremitae, et Confessores) ; *M. Magdalena, M. Egyptiaca, Perpetua, Petronilla, Praxedis, Agnes, Agatha, Anastasia, Cecilia, Lucia, Katherina, Margarita, Spes, Karitas* (Virgines).

(102^b) *Ut pacem...* ; *Ut misericordia et pietas...* ; *Ut gratiam sancti spiritus...* ; *Ut dompnum apostolicum...* ; (103^a) *Ut regibus et principibus...* ; *Ut episcopos et abbates nostros...* ; *Ut dies nostros in tua pace disponas. Ut fructus terre...* ; *Ut miserias pauperum...* ; *Ut animas nostras et parentum nostrorum...* ; *Ut omnibus fidelibus viuis et defunctis...* ; *Ut nos exaudire digneris.*

5. (p. 103^{b}-109^{b}) Rubrica
(103^{b}) In anno quo die dominica euenerit natiuitas domino sunt iiii^{or} sept. in aduentu.... (Add: 16/17th c.) Vide Rubr. xxiv Antiqui ordinali... - (109^{b}) ...feria vi vig nat domini.

6. (p. 109^{b}-549^{b}) Proprium de tempore
(109^{b}) Incipit breuiarium legendi et canendi secundum usum et consuetudinem s Sepulchri. Sabbato in aduentu domini. Ad vesperas. A. *Benedictus dominus*...Ps. *Ipsum*. Capitulum. *Qui venturus est veniet...* - (549^{b}) [Feria II. Lectio VI.] *Tunc erumpens Nabuchodonosor ait benedictus...in generationem et generationem.*
(111rb) Dominica I aduentus; (251^{a}) Dominica I in LXX; (271^{a}) Dominica in LX; (275^{a}) Dominica in L; (287^{b}) Dominica I in XL; (339^{a}) Dominica in passione domini; (353^{b}) Dominica in ramis palmarum; (366^{a}) In cena domini; (374^{a}) In parasceue Pasche; (380^{a}) Sabbato in vig Pasche; (388^{a}) In die s Pasche; (447^{a}) In die Penthecostes; (461^{a}) Dominica de trinitate; (546^{b}) Dominica XXIII [XXV post oct Penthecostes].

7. (p. 549^{b}-779^{a}) Proprium de sanctis
(549^{b}) Hylarij cf. Or. *Deus qui nos ad s Ylarii cf tui depositionem tribuisti...* - (779^{a}) [Thome ap.] Ad mag. *Quia vidisti me Thomas credidisti*...Or. *Da nobis quesumus domine b apostoli.*
(591^{a}) 25 Mar. *Annuntiatio b Marie*...(596^{a}) (after lectio ix) Arnulphus patriarcha precepit per summam obedientiam cantare. *Te deum.* Et *Gloria in excelsis. Credo*; (613^{b}) 4 May *Memoria de s Quiriaco*; (615^{a}) 11 May *Epiphani ep et pont* (buried in Cyprus; not in the calendar); (644^{a}) 4 July *In transl s Martini Turoniensis*; (651^{a}) 24 July *Memoria s Cristiane v et m*; (663^{b}) 13 Aug. *Festum s Ypoliti sociorumque eius*; (666^{a}) 15 Aug. *In Assumptione BMV*; (681^{a}) 28 Aug. *Memoria ss mm Hermen atque Iulianum*; (691^{b}) 8 Sept. *Memoria Adriani m*; (698^{a}) 14 Sept. *Cornelij et Cypriani*; (704^{b}) 15 Sept. *Oct [nat] s Marie*; (705^{a}) 16 Sept. *Lucie et Geminiani*; (711^{b}) 25 Sept. *Cleophe disc domini iii lc*; (718^{a}) 30 Sept. *Bethleem Ieronimi presb ix lc*; (719^{a}) 4 Oct. *S Francisci primus magister fratrum Minorum* (oratio only); (719^{a}) 6 Oct. *In festum patriarcharum Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob*; (725^{b}) 12 Oct. *Cirici et Iulite*; (726^{b}) 22 Oct. *Iherusalem Marchi ep et m ix lc sicut unius m, vii erit de euangelio*; (727^{b}) 29 Oct. *Iherusalem Narcissi ep iii lc*; 31 Oct. *Vig omnium ss*...si vero alia die euenerit secundum nouam institutionem fit totum de ea lc iii de euangelio...; (729^{b}) 1 Nov. *In festum*; (734^{b}) 2 Nov. *Statim incipiantur vespere defunctorum*... (740^{b}) Post capitulum vadit processio ad ecclesiam que dicitur Cheldemach canere responsoria deffunctorum...; (741^{a}) 11 Nov. *In transitu s Martini ep et cf Turonensis ix lc* de vita eius ad vesperas A. per dies secundum institutionem quorundam, dominice in aliis ecclesiis per orbem terrarum longe lateque constructiis hanc precipuam sollempnitatem tanti viri duppliciter et festiue celebretur; (747^{b}) 13 Nov. *Britij ep iii lc*...Exigit ordo per uniuersum mundum ix lc faciunt de s Britio...; (750^{b}) 21 Nov. *De presentatione BMV* (this feast, celebrated from the early centuries in the Greek church, was introduced in the Western church in 1372 by Gregory XI); (751^{a}) *Columbani ab*; (766^{a}) 5 Dec. *Iherusalem s Sabbe ab et cf ix lc* ut unius cf qui non est ep; (777^{a}) 17 Dec. *Lazari ep quem dominus suscitauit ix lc* de omilia ev. *Erat quidam languens*. cetera ut unius cf ep.

8. (p. 779^{b}-819^{b}) Commune sanctorum
(779^{b}) In nat app qui non habent proprietatem ad vesperas. Cap. *Non vos me elegistis sed ego elegi vos...* - (819^{b}) [De commune BMV in sabbato.] Laudes et cetera ut supra in Assumptione.
(786^{a}) In nat plurimorum mm; (792^{b}) In nat unius m; (793^{a}) In nat ep et m; (798^{a}) In nat unius cf et ep; (801^{b}) De uno cf pont; (804^{b}) In nat unius cf non ep; (806^{a}) In nat plurimorum cff; (808^{b}) In nat unius v; (815^{a}) In vig app qui non habent proprietatem; (816^{b}) In communi s Marie.

9. (p. 820^{a}-821^{b}) Suffragia
(820^{a}) In aduentu domini ad matutinas suffragia de omnibus sanctis. A. *Ecce dominus veniet...* - (821^{b}) [Or.] *Deus auctor pacis.*
(820^{a}) De pace; De trinitate; De cruce; De apostolis.

10. (p. 821^{b}-822^{a}) Benedictiones ante lectiones BMV
(821^{b}) *Alma virgo virginum intercedat pro nobis...* - (822^{a}) *Sacerdotum confessio nos iungat celi gaudio.*

11. (p. 822^{a}-844^{b}) Alia officia
a. (822^{a}) In festo b Petri m de ordine Predicatorum ad vesperas super psalmos A. *Collectetur turba fidelium...* - (826^{a}) [Or.] *Presta quesumus omnipotens deus. [A]dest triumphus nobilis festumque celi furie quo rosa delectabilis...cum victoria.*
b. (826^{a}) In festo b Dominici ad vesperas super psalmos. A. *Gaude felix parens Hyspania...* - (832^{b}) Or. ut supra.
c. (832^{b}) In nat s Francisci de ordine Minorum ad vesperas. A. *Michi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce...* - (839^{b}) [Ad vesperas.] A. *O virum mirabilem in signis et prodigiis...quibus es coniunctus alleluia.*
d. (839^{b}) In nat s Katherine v et m ad vesperas. A. *Liberasti me a perditione...* - (844^{b}) [Ad laudes.] A. *Benedictus dominus rex celestis qui de merita beate K virginis...oleo fideliter per m[?]ietis. Bened||*

850 p. Parchment. Brown ink. 225 × 165 mm (165 × 122 mm), 2 columns of 40 lines, space between columns 12 mm (p. 1^r). Ruling with dry point. Collation: 1^6 $2\text{-}15^{12}$ 16^{12-1} (wants 12) 17^{12} 18^{12-1} (wants 8) 19^{12} 20^{10} $21\text{-}23^{12}$ 24^{10} 25^{12-1} (wants 12) 26^{10} $27\text{-}36^{12}$ 37^{12-1} (wants 12). Flesh side out. Ruling between two single vertical lines. Catchwords always visible. 2° folio: «Quarta subit». Incorrect folio numbering in the upper right-hand corner of the rectos in black ink probably in the 17/18th c. Carmelite hand («C. B.») which paginates until p. 133 (correctly 145) then foliates. Modern pagination in the middle of upper margin in brown ink. Littera textualis rotunda. Square notation on four-line red staves.

Decoration: Historiated initials are supplied in various colours within a gold or chequered ground. Several borders containing hunting scenes. Other 2-line initials are supplied in red or blue with violet or red penwork decoration with long extensions into the margin to create a border.

MS Annotations: Marginal notes, mainly supplementing the text, in contemporary and early hands (fourteenth/fifteenth century). In the lower margin of p. 2: « | | [An]no domini m° cccc°lxxi aureus numerus... » In the lower margin of p. 3 a marginal note dated 1465: «Nota quod quocienscumque computus aurei numeri...In anno domini m° cccc° lxv aureis aurei numeri et bisestus etiam in eodem anno...»; the same hand added a number of entries in the calendar.

Binding: Nineteenth-century mottled calf, with marbled pastedowns. 232 × 170 × 74 mm.

Origin: Cyprus.

Provenance: Bellapaïs, Cyprus, Premonstratensians; on 8 Sept. inscription in red in the original hand: «Obitus Guidonis de Ybelino anno M.ccc.v[iii] | | »; Guy of Ibelin (1285/88-1308) was buried in the convent; see W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, Les Ibelin au XIIIe et XIVe siècles. Généalogie compilée principalement selon les régistres du Vatican, in *Epeteris tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon*, 9, 1979, p. 117-265 at 185-6 and 235-6; repr. in *id.*, *Familles de l'Orient latin XIIe-XIVe siècles*, London, 1983, IV. Unidentified erased coat of arms on f. 112, 188, 199, 228, 526, 527, 573, 647: azure, a bend gules; or, a cross gules between four quatrefoils gules.

Ownership: Carmelites (fourteenth century); see additions to the calendar. Bologna, probably Carmelites, from at least 1465 to the seventeenth century; see additions to the calendar and inscription on p. 1: «C. B.» (= Carmelitarum Bononie?) in the same black ink which extensively annotated the breviary throughout, collating the manuscript with a copy of the modern Carmelite Breviary; see p. 12: «Infrascriptum Breviarium antiquum Carmelitanum iuxta ritu ecclesie Ierosolimitane modicum difert a moderno breviario ad normam Romani brevierii directo precipua diferentia est in lectionibus sacre scripture et in nocturni homiliarum [***] evangeliis»; in the upper margin of p. 13: «Psalterium ordinario | | de tempore | | ut etiam nunc facimus»; the Carmelite

house in Bologna was founded in 1260; see A. Sabatini, Origini e antichità della provincia Toscana dei Carmelitani, in *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 14, 1949, p. 187-201. M. Le Quien saw this manuscript and mentioned its calendar in *Oriens christianus*, 3 vols, Paris, 1740, III col. 1220. St Wandrille de Fontenelle; ex-libris: «Quasi lilia quae sunt in transitu aquae», «Ex libris Bibliothecae S. Wandregisili Font.»; and stamp on f. 1^r; see F. Lot, *Études critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille*, Paris, 1913; G. Nortiers, Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes benedictines de Normandie, Chapitre VII, La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Wandrille, in *Revue Mabillon*, 48, 1958, p. 165-75; R. Laffont, *Dictionnaire des églises de France*, 5 vols, Paris, 1966-71, IVb p. 175-7; *DHGE* XVII col. 915-53. Not among the manuscripts in the library of St Wandrille in 1735 as listed by B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, 2 vols, Paris, 1739, II p. 1195-6. In the library of the abbey of St Wandrille by 1898; see the letter, dated 1901, of M. Lajat to a member of the monastery mentioning that the manuscript was in the abbey at the time of Dom Pothier, first abbot of the post-revolution period (*c.*1898) in *Les curieuses Recherches de Fontenelle*, a collection of papers related to the abbey, Saint-Wandrille, 1957, p. 56: «je n'ai connu a Saint-Wandrille que...un graduel consideré par Dom Portier comme du Saint-Sépulchre du xv siècle si je ne me trompe...»

Bibliography: M. Le Quien, *Oriens christianus*, 3 vols, Paris, 1740, III col. 1220; Kohler p. 384-5; Ottosen p. 106.

HS[17] **BREVIARIUM**, *1300-15*

Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1076 — Cyprus

1. (f. I^r-II^r) Additio, 1784

(I^r) *Questo codice manuscritto in pergamena, quantunque mancante di alquanti fogli...*(I^v) *...Goffredo di Buglione duca di Lorena il quale v'istituì quivi il Clero ed il divino uffizio e le cerimonie ecclesiastiche a norma delle primarie chiese di Francia per mezzo di Anselmo Canonico di Parigi, e poi Cantore della Patriarcale latina di Gerusalemme...* (II^r) *...Carolus Antonius Barbarus, Marchio S. Georgii, Antiquitatis non incuriosus, animadvertit, notavit et posteritatis memoriae tradidit; hodie recurrente solemnitate Inventionis S. Crucis D. N. Jesu p[ax] servatoris, V° Nonas Maii, Hora fere III pomeridiana, Anno a Partu Virginis 1784.*

Note by Carlo Antonio Barbaro, 1st marquis of S. Giorgio, in Italian, black ink, on the date of the manuscript, according to him written between 1173, date of the institution of the feast of S. Thomas of Canterbury, and 1187, date of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin.

2. (f. 1ra-37ra) Psalterium feriatum

(1ra) | | [Ps 78,3 *effuderunt sangui*]*nem eorum tanquam aquam...* - (37ra) [Or.] *Absolue.*

(33va-36vb) Ymnus trium puerorum; Canticum s Marie; Canticum Symeonis; Laus angelorum; Oratio dominica; Simbolum apostolorum.

3. (f. 35ra-37ra) Litaniae sanctorum
(35ra) Letania. Kyrieleyson. Christeleyson... - (37ra) [Or.] *Absolue.* *Iohannes Baptista* (Patriarchae et Prophetae); *Petre, Paule, Andrea, Iacobe, Iohannes, Thoma, Nicole, Philippe, Bartholomee, Mathee, Symon, Thadee, Mathia, Barnaba, Luca, Marce* (Apostoli, Evangelistae, et Discipuli); *Innocentes, Stephane, Line, Clete, Clemens, Syste, Corneli, Cipriane, Laurenti, Blasi, Thome, Vincenti, Fabiane, Sebastiane, Georgi, Gervasi, Protasi, Cosme, Damiane, Grisogone, Iohannes et Paule, Maurici c.s.t., Dionisi c.s.t.* (Martyres); *Augustine, Silvester, Leo, Ylari, Martine, Gregori, Ambrosi, Jeronime, Germane, Nicholae, Albine, Remigi, Benedicte, Maure, Paule, Leonarde, Antoni, Machari, Egidi* (Confessores); *M. Magdalena, M. Egiptiaca, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Agnes, Cecila, Lucia, Barbara, Scolastica, Eufemia, Anastasia, Petronille, Margarite, Genovefa, Brigida, Praxedis, Cristiana, Fides, Spes, Karitas, Agna, Susanna, Sapientia* (Virgines et Viduae).
(35vb) *Ut pacem...*; *Ut misericordia et pietas...*; *Ut ecclesiam tuam...*; *Ut domnum apostolicum...*; *Ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes congregationes illis commissas in sancta religione conservare digneris. Ut congregationes omnium sanctorum...*; *Ut regibus et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris. Ut cunctum populum christianum...*; *Ut locum istum et omnes habitantes in eo...*; *Ut regularibus disciplinis...*; *Ut gentem paganam dextera tue potentie comprimere digneris*; *Ut animas nostras et parentum nostrorum...*; *Ut fructus terre...*; *Ut oculos misericordie tue...*; *Ut mentes nostras...*; *Ut miserias pauperum...*; *Ut inter famulos tuos...*; *Ut nos de quacunque tribulatione clamantes...*; *Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis...*; *Ut nos exaudire digneris.* (36vb) Canticum graduum.

4. (f. 37ra-40rb) Suffragia
(37ra) Incipiunt suffragia sanctorum per totum annum post oct Pentecostes usque ad aduentum domini. Ad matutinas A. *Nos autem gloriari oportet...* - (40rb) [Omnibus sabbatis.] Ista antiphona dicitur ad matutinas omnibus sabbatis et in aliis diebus. A. *Aue stella matutina peccatorum medicina mundi princeps et regina...dulcis exaudi Maria.*
(37ra) De resurrectione; Angelorum; De s Iohanne Baptista; De omnibus sanctis; De reliquiis; De apostolorum Petri et Pauli; De pace; De s Michaele; In tempore paschali usque ad Ascensionem domini; De angelis; In aduentu domini; Omnibus sabbatis.

5. (f. 40rb-41va) Benedictiones
(40rb) Hec sunt benedictiones per totum annum. Ad matutinas bn perpetua. *Benedicat nos pater eternus...* - (41va) In tempore paschali dicitur. *Regina celi.* usque ad Ascensionem domini.
(40rb) Bn perpetua; De omnibus sanctis; De gloriosa dei genitrice Maria; Omnibus sabbatis per totum annum; In tempore paschali.

6. (f. 42ra-301vb) Proprium de tempore
(42ra) In nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen. Incipit breviarium abreviatum secundum usum et consuetudinem ecclesie dominici s Sepulchri. Dominica prima de aduentu domini. Sabbato ad vesperas. A. *Benedictus dominus deus meus...* - (301vb) Hec antiphone debent esse in illa ebdomada que est post oct Pasche, idest dominica de quasi modo geniti.
(66vb) *In die nat domini*; (89va) *In die s Thomas;* (99vb) Ordo quod dicitur in officium b virginis ab oct domini usque ad Purificationem eiusdem, ad omnes horas et ad officium misse; (125vb) *Dominica in lxx*; (187va) *In cena domini*; (193ra) *In parasceue, in vi feria ante Pascha;* (198va) *Sabbato s id est vig Pasche;* (204vb) *In die s Pasche*; (242ra) [*In die s Penthecostes*]; (251vb) *Dominica de trinitate*; (no office for Corpus Christi); (257vb) *Dominica post oct Penthecostes*; (Sundays 20-22 are wanting, with no apparent gap in the manuscript); (290ra) *Dominica xxv*; (290va-299va) *Hec sunt omelie dominicalium* (homelies for the 25 Sundays after Pentecost); (299vb) Dominica ante aduentum domini, quidam faciunt de resurrectione, quidam de trinitate. Qui autem faciunt de trinitate dicunt totum officium ut scriptum est preter evangelium *Cum sublevasset...*Qui autem faciunt de resurrectione, dicunt officium ut subscriptum est.

7. (f. 302ra-434vb) Proprium de sanctis
(302ra) Incipit ordo canendi et legendi in ecclesia s Sepulchri in festivitatibus sanctorum...In vig s Andree. Secundum Iohannem. *I.i.t. stabat Iohannes et ex discipulis eius duo...* - (434vb) [Memoria ss. Hermetis et Iuliani.] *Amatorem paupertatis te collaudant pauperes assertorem veritatis...supernorum ciuium.* Amen. Hoc hymnum debet dici ad primas vesperas et in nocturno. Ad vesperas A. *Post mortem.* Ps. *Dixit dominus.* Cetera ad ceteros | |
(303ra) 30 Nov. *Andree*; (306va) 1 Dec. *Eligii*; (307ra) 4 Dec. *Barbare*; (308rb) 5 Dec. *Ierusalem s Sabbe ab et cf*; (308va) 6 Dec. *Nicholai ep et cf*; (312vb) 8 Dec. *Hystoria Conceptionis BMV*; (317vb) 13 Dec. *Lucie v et m*; (319vb) 17 Dec. *Lazari ep et cf*; (320rb) 21 Dec. *Thome ap*; (321rb) 13 Jan. In die *Oct Epiphanie, memoria ss Ylarii atque Remegii;* 14 Jan. *Memoria de s Felice*; (321va) 15 Jan. *Mauri ab;* 16 Jan. *Marcelli*

pp; 17 Jan. *Anthonii ab*; (322rb) 19 Jan. *Marii Marthe Audifax et Abacuc*; (322va) 20 Jan. *Fabiani et Sebastiani*; (327va) 21 Jan. *Agnetis v et m*; (329^{r}-336^{r}) (the first two leaves have been torn); 22 Jan. *Vincentii*; (336rb) 23 Jan. *Emerentiane*; (336va) 24 Jan. *Timothei ep et m*; 25 Jan. *In conuersione s Pauli*; (340va) *Memoria s Preiecti*; 27 Jan. *Juliani ep et cf*; (341va) 28 Jan. *Memoria Agnetis II*; (341vb) 26 Jan. *Policarpi ep et m*; 30 Jan. *Ierusalem Mathie ep et cf*; (342ra) 2 Feb. *In Purificatione s Marie* (procession to Templum Domini); (347va) 3 Feb. *Blasii*; (348ra) 5 Feb. *Agathe v*; (351va) 6 Feb. *Vedasti et Amandi*; 10 Feb. *Scolastice v*; (352ra) 14 Feb. *Valentini*; (352rb) *Vitalis Felicule et Zenonis*; (352rb) 16 Feb. *Iuliane v*; (352va) 18 Feb. *Ierusalem s Symeonis ep et m*; 22 Feb. *Cathedra s Petri*; (353vb) 24 Feb. *Mathie ap*; (354va) 7 Mar. *Perpetue et Felicitatis*; 11 Mar. *Memoria XL mm*; 12 Mar. *Gregorii pp*; (355vb) 18 Mar. *Iherusalem, Alexandri ep et m*; 21 Mar. *Benedicti*; (356vb) 25 Mar. *Annuntiatio BMV*; (362va) 4 Apr. *Ambrosii ep et cf*; 14 Apr. *Tyburci et Valeriani*; (364ra) 23 Apr. *Georgii m*; (366va) 25 Apr. *Marci ev*; (368ra) 28 Apr. *Vitalis m*; 29 Apr. (Add: in the margin, 14th c.) *Petri m de ordine Predicatorum*; 1 May *Philippi et Iacobi*; (370ra) 2 May *Athanasii*; 3 May *Inuentio s Crucis*; (374vb) 4 May *Memoria de s Quiriaco*; (375rb) 6 May *Iohannis ante portam latinam*; (376rb) 10 May *Gordiani et Epimachi*; (376va) 11 May *Epiphanii ep et cf* (buried in Cyprus); (377ra) 12 May *Nerei et Achillei*; 25 May *Urbane pp*; 2 June *Marcellini et Petri*; (377va) 8 June *Medardi et Gildardi*; 9 June *Primi et Feliciani*; 11 June *Barnabe ap*; (378va) 12 June *Basilidis et soc.*; (378vb) 15 June *Viti Modesti et Crescentie*; 16 June *Cirici et Iulite*; (379ra) 18 June *Marci et Marcelliani*; (379rb) 19 June *Geruasii et Prothasii*; (380rb) 21 June *Albani m*; (381ra) 24 June *Iohannes Baptiste*; (386ra) 26 June *Iohannis et Pauli*; (388rb) 28 June *Memoria s Leonis*; 29 June *Petri et Pauli*; (393vb) 30 June *Comm s Pauli*; (397ra) 2 July *Memoria Processi et Martiniani*; (397vb) 4 July *Transl s Martini*; (399vb) 10 July *Septem Fratrum*; (400ra) 11 July *Transl s Benedicti*; 20 July *Margarite v et m*; (400va) 21 July *Memoria s Praxedis*; 22 July *Marie Magdalene*; (404ra) 23 July *Memoria s Apollinaris*; 25 July *Iacobi ap*; (404rb) 24 July *Christiane v*; (404va) 25 July *Memoria de ss Christoforo et Cucufate*; (405ra) 28 July *Pantaleonis m*; (405rb) 29 July *Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis*; (405va) 30 July *Abdon et Senes*; 31 July *Germani ep et cf*; (405vb) 1 Aug. *Petri ad vincula; memoria ss Machabeorum*; (406rb) 2 Aug. *Memoria s Stephani pp*; (406va) 3 Aug. *Inuentio s Stephani Gamalielis et Abibon*; (411va) 6 Aug. *In Transfiguratione domini*; (411vb) *Felicissimi et Agapiti*; (412va) 7 Aug. *Memoria de s Donato*; 8 Aug. *Cyriaci et soc*; (412vb) 9 Aug. *Vig s Laurentii; Memoria s Romani*; (413rb) 10 Aug. *Laurentii*; (417va)

11 Aug. *Memoria s Tyburcii*; (418rb) 13 Aug. *Ypoliti et soc.*; (420^{ra-va}) 14 Aug. *In vig Assumptionis*; (420vb)15 Aug. *In die Assumptionis*; (427ra) 18 Aug. *Memoria de s Agapito*; (428va) 22 Aug. *Memoria ss Tymothei et Simphoriani*; (429ra) 23 Aug. *Memoria Zachei ep et cf*; 24 Aug. *Bartholomei*; (429va) 27 Aug. *Rufi m*; (429vb) 28 Aug. *Augustini ep et cf*; (430vb) *Memoria ss Hermetis atque Iuliani.*

ii (paper) + 434 f. (a leaf between f. 238 and 239 and another between f. 353 and 354 are not counted). Parchment. Brown ink. 218 × 152/4 mm (174 × 115 mm), 2 columns of 41 lines (f. 43^{r}); space between columns 10 mm. Collation: $1^{||5}$ $2\text{-}7^{12}$ 8^{10} $9\text{-}18^{12}$ 19^{10} 20^{14} $21\text{-}24^{12}$ 25^{6} 26^{12} 27^{12-1} (wants 1) 28^{10} 29^{12} 30^{14} 31^{12} 32^{10} $33\text{-}34^{12}$ 35^{10} 36^{11} 37^{10} 38^{8}. Hair side out. Pricking not visible. Ruling with dry point and ink. Catchwords partially visible. Incomplete at the beginning (calendar lacking) and at the end (final part of the proper of saints and common of saints lacking). Present 2° folio: «mine quis similis». Irregular foliation in black ink, probably by Barbaro; more recent foliation in pencil. Littera textualis rotunda, very similar to HS[16]. Noted on a stave initially of three lines, then of four, in red. Kohler dates 1300-50, a copy of a 1229-44 exemplar; Leroquais dates 1250-1300.

Decoration: Large initials are supplied in interlocked red and blue, with blue and red penwork decoration and with extension into the margin to form borders. Other initials are supplied in red or blue with blue or red penwork decoration.

MS Annotations: Some marginal notes, mainly providing additions to the text, in a contemporary Italian hand. Other marginal and interlinear notes, mainly providing corrections to and occasionally commenting on the text, in a sixteenth-century hand, light brown ink: a note on f. 199^{v} is dated 1548.

Binding: Eighteenth-century blind-tooled black calf, with black-edged leaves; probably bound for Barbaro. Double fillets form a frame; within the frame, in the centre the Maltese cross, at each corner a decorative stamp. On the spine, horizontal double fillets divide the spine into four compartments, each decorated with a floral stamp. 230 × 163 × 79 mm.

Origin: Cyprus. According to Kohler written in an Italian hand.

Provenance: Canons of the Holy Sepulchre settled in Cyprus, after 1291.

Ownership: Carlo Antonio Barbaro (1720-98), 1st marquis of S. Giorgio (1778), Malta; see C. A. Gauci, *The Genealogy and Heraldry of the Noble Families of Malta*, Valletta, 1981, p. 42-4 and V. Spreti, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare Italiana*, 18 vols, Milan, 1935, VII p. 274-8, at 275; see his note on the front endleaf. Frank Hall Standish (1799-1840); *DNB* XVIII p. 880. Standish left his collection to Louis-Philippe Bourbon-Orléans (1773-1850), king of France (1830-48); after the revolution of 1848 the books were sold in Paris in December 1852. Purchased by the duke of Aumale, his fourth son, at the sale. Henri Eugène Philippe Louis d'Orléans, duke of

Aumale (1822-97); *DBF* IV p. 611-24; *IBF* II p. 126; *La Bibliothèque du Prince. Château de Chantilly. Les manuscrits*, ed. F. Vergne, Paris, 1995, p. 11-70; on f. 1^{r}, 270^{v}, and 434^{v} oval stamp in blue ink with the monogram « HO ». Bequeathed in 1886 to the Institut de France; see *La Bibliothèque du Prince*, p. 22-3; on front pastedown oval violet label of the Musée Condé, with the arms of Bourbon-Condé gold-tooled: baton, gules.
Old Shelfmark: no. 50.
Bibliography: L. Delisle, *Chantilly, le cabinet des livres manuscrits, I: Théologie. Jurisprudence. Sciences et arts*, Paris, 1900, p. 47-8 no. 1076; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Musée Condé à Chantilly*, Paris, 1928, p. 10 n. 50 (1076); Kohler p. 469-500 (large parts of the text are transcribed here); Leroquais, *Les breviaires*, I, p. 265 n. 154; Minervini p. 87.

HS[18] **BREVIARIUM,** *1359-65*

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, mss. Palatini 185-6 Cyprus

1. (f. 1^{r}-6^{v}) Calendarium
(1^{r}) *Inanuarius habet dies xxxi luna xxx. Nox habet horas xvi dies vero octo...*
Remarks: 31 Jan. *Geminiani ep et cf* (bp of Modena; red); 1 Feb. *Seueri ep*; *Brigide v*; 15 Feb. *Faustini et Iouite* (red); 25 Feb. *Inuentio s Iohannis Baptiste*; 7 Mar. *Thome Aquino*; 13 Mar. *XL mm* (red); 20 Mar. *Guberti ep et cf* (unidentified); 20 Apr. *Dedicatio basilice s Marie* (Reggio Emilia); 29 Apr. *Petri noui m* († 1252); 10 May *Cathaldi*; 21 May *Senesii et Theopompi* (relics in Nonantola); 23 May *Desiderii ep* (bp of Vienne); 25 May *s Saluatoris* (red); 31 May *Cantii Cantiani et Cantianille*; 25 June *Prosperi ep et cf* (bp of Reggio Emilia); 5 July *Margarite v et m* (red); 8 July *Çuliani et Colonari* (i.e. the Irish saints Chilianus and Colomanus); 5 Aug. *Dominici cf. ordinis Predicatorum*; 16 Aug. *Transl s Leonardi*; 2 Sept. *Anthonii ep et cf*; 3 Sept. *Marini cf* (patron saint of San Marino); 7 Oct. *Iustine v Paduensis*; 12 Oct. *Teraci Probi et Andronici*; 7 Nov. *Prosdocimi ep et cf* (bp of Padua; red); 24 Nov. *Prosperi cf* (Transl, bp of Reggio Emilia); 8 Dec. *Syri ep et cf* (bp of Pavia; red); 9 Dec. *Zenonis ep et cf* (red); 23 Dec. *Victorie v.*
Calendar of Reggio Emilia; see full text in Appendix.

2. (f. 7ra-106rb) Psalterium feriatum
(7ra) In nomine domini amen. Inuitatorium infrascriptum silicet. *Dominum qui fecit nos*, dicitur dominicis diebus...; (8ra) *Beatus vir...* - (106rb) [Or. dominica.] *Pater noster...ventris tui amen.*

(103va) Ympnum Ambrosii et Augustini; (104ra) Canticum trium puerorum; (104va) Canticum Zacharie; (105ra) Canticum BMV; (105va) Fides catholica. *Credo...*; (106ra) Symbolum apostolorum; (106rb) Or. dominica.

3. (f. 106va) Psalmi graduales
(106va) Incipiunt xv psalmi graduales in quadragesima. *Ad dominum cum tri...* (Pss 119-133).

4. (f. 107ra) Psalmi poenitentiales
(107ra) Incipiunt vii psalmi penitentiales in quadragesima. A. *Ne reminiscaris...* (Pss 6; 31; 37; 50; 101; 129; 142).

5. (f. 107rb-109vb) Litaniae sanctorum
(107rb) *Kirrieleyson...* - (109vb) Or. *Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris... protegantur auxilio. Per dominum nostrum I.C. filium tuum.*
Iohannes Baptista (Patriarchae et Prophetae); *Petre, Paule, Andrea, Iacobe, Iohannes, Thoma, Iacobe, Phylippe, Bartholomee, Mathee, Symon, Thadee, Mathia, Barnaba, Luca, Marce* (Apostoli, Evangelistae, et Discipuli); *Innocentes, Stephane, Line, Clete, Clemes* (*sic*), *Syste, Calixte, Corneli, Cypriane, Laurenti, Vincenti, Georgi, Blasi, Christofore, Marcellini et Petre, Geruasi et Protasi, Iohannes et Pauli, Cosma et Damiane, Fabiane et Sebastiane, Dyonisi c.s.t., Maurici c.s.t., Eustachi c.s.t., Adriane c.s.t.* (Martyres); *Siluester, Leo, Hylari, Martine, Briti, Gregori, Ambrosi, Augustine, Ieronime, Nicholae, Lazare, Benedicte, Maure, Egidi, Antoni, Machari, Leonarde, Columbane, Dominice, Francisce, Yuo, Epyphani, Sezomene* (Confessores, Monachi, et Heremitae); *M. Magdalena, M. Egyptiaca, Felicitas, Perpetua, Aghata, Agnes, Lucia, Cecilia, Anastasia, Margareta, Scolastica, Petronilla, Katerina, Barbara, Euphemia, Tecla, Columba, Iuliane* (Virgines).
(108va) *Ut pacem...*; *Ut misericordia...*; *Ut ecclesiam tuam...*; *Ut cunctum populum christianum...*; *Ut mentes nostras...*; *Ut miserias pauperum...*; *Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis...*; *Ut nos exaudire digneris.*

6. (f. 110ra-117va) Mutationes in officium
(110ra) In die quo die dominica euenerit natiuitas domini sunt iiii septimane in aduentu...

7. (f. 117va-119ra) Ordo legendi et canendi
(117va) Hic est ordo legendi et canendi in ecclesia dominici Sepulchri. Ab aduentu domini usque ad natalem eius legitur Ysayas... - (119ra) [A Kalendas nouembris usque ad medietatem ipsius.] ...et cantatur ystoria *Vidi dominum sedentem*.

8. (f. 119^{ra-vb}) Benedictiones
(119ra) Incipiunt benedictiones ad lectionem per totum annum. In

primo nocturno. Bn. *Benedictione perpetua benedicat nos...* - (119[vb]) [In festo omnium ss.] In tertio nocturno bn. *Euangelica lectio iungat nos confessorum consortio*. R. Amen.

9. (f. 121[ra]- [vol II] 9[ra]) Proprium de tempore
(121[ra]) In nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. Incipit breviarium secundum usum et consuetudinem ecclesie s Sepulchri. Sabbato in aduentu domini. Ad uesperas. A. *Benedictus...* - [vol II] (9[ra]) In festo Corporis Christi. Feria V post oct Pentecosten.
(270[va]) In cena domini; (274[rb]) Feria VI; (277[ra]) Sabbato; (279[va]) In die s Pasche; (330[ra]) Dominica de trinitate; (334[rb]) Dominica I post oct Pentecosten; [vol II] (9[ra]) In festo Corporis Christi.

10. (f. 16[va]-241[ra]) Proprium de sanctis
(16[va]) Incipit Breviarium sanctorum. In vig s Andree ap. Ad matutinum. Inuitatorium...Lectio prima. Secundum Iohannem. *I.i.t. stabat Iohannes et ex discipulis eius duo...* - (241[ra]) Lini pp et m memoria et cetera ut unius m.
(30[va]) 17 Dec. *Lazari, ix lc*; (57[ra]) 18 Feb. *Ierusalem s Symeonis ep et m, ix lc*; (60[ra]) 1 Mar. *Albini ep iii lc*; 7 Mar. *In festo b Thome de Aquino ordinis Predicatorum*; (64[rb]) 13 Mar. *XL mm*; (65[vb]) 18 Mar. *Ierusalem s Alexandri ep et m ix lc*; (68[ra]) 25 Mar. *In Annunciatione BMV*; (83[va]) 3 May *Inuentio s Crucis*; (90[rb]) 11 May *Epiphanii ep et cf*; (92[vb]) 20 May *Yuonis cf* (probably Yvo of Chartres; with inhabited initial and gilt border); (100[rb]) 11 June *Barnabe ap...sciendum tamen est quodlicet festum b Barnabe apud nonnullos vigiliam minime habeat, secundum tamen consuetudinem ecclesiam Cypri de eo fit vig ut unius apostoli. Et quia idem apostolus Cyprius fuit et ibidem martirium consummauit de ipso facimus et octauas...*; (130[va]) 26 July *In festo s Anne*; (133[va]) 28 July *Pantaleonis m*; (141[vb]) 6 Aug. *De Transfiguratione domini*; (154[rb]) 15 Aug. *In festo Assumptione BMV*; (162[vb]) 23 Aug. *Memoria de s Zacheo ep*; (164[rb]) *Ludouici regis Francorum*; (165[ra]) 27 Aug. *Ruffi m*; (171[va]) 1 Sept. *Egidii ab*; (172[va]) 4 Sept. *Oct s Augustini*; (176[va]) 13 Sept. *Maurilii*; (178[vb]) 25 Sept. *Cleophe m et disc domini*; (195[rb]) *XI milium virginum*; (203[va]) 2 Oct. *Leodegari iii lc*; (208[vb]) 6 Oct. *Patriarcharum Abraham Ysaac et Iacob*; (209[ra]) 21 Oct. *In nat s Ylarionis ab*; (210[rb]) 22 Oct. *Ierusalem s Marci ep et m, ix lc*; 25 Oct. *Crispini et Crispiniani, iii lc*; (210[va]) *Demetrii m, iii lc*; (211bis[ra]) 29 Oct. *Ierusalem Narcissi ep et cf*; 31 Oct. *Quintini m*; (212[ra]) 1 Nov. *Omnium ss*; (215[vb]) 2 Nov. *Statim incipiantur vespere defunctorum*; (229[va]) *Eustachii c.s.s*; 6 Nov. *Leonardi*; (230[rb]) 8 Nov. *IIII coronatorum*; 9 Nov. *Theodori*; (230[va]) 10 Nov. *Martini pp*; 11 Nov. *Martini ep*; (233[va]) *Menne*; 13 Nov. *Britii*; (236[va]) 19 Nov. *Elisabeth filia regis Ungarie*; (237[ra]) 21 Nov. *In festo Presentationis BMV*; (238[rb]) 25 Nov. *Katherine*; (220[vb]) 21 Nov *Ss cff Sozomeni et Sotiormenis, quod celebratur die xxi mensis nouenbri ad deuotionem domini et domini illustri prosapia geniti Petri dei gratia Ierusalem et Cypri regis* (Peter I, king of Jerusalem and Cyprus 1359-69). Ad vesperas. A. *Gloriosus laudemus milites Sozomenum et eius sotros* (=soteros ?); (224[rb]) 22 Nov. *Cecilie*; (226[vb]) 23 Nov. *Clementis pp*; (238[vb]) 25 Nov. *Petri Alexandrini*; (241[ra]) 26 Nov. *Lini pp*.

11. (f. 241[ra]-264[vb]) Commune sanctorum
(241[ra]) In vig app proprietatem non habentium. Ad matutinum. Inuitatorium...Lectio prima secundum Iohannem. *I.i.t.d.i.d.s. ego sum vitis vera...* - (264[vb]) [Plurimorum mm trium lectionum.] Similiter fiat de uno m et de uno cf pont...et de una v trium lectionum.
(245[ra]) Plurimorum mm; (249[rb]) Unius m; (252[vb]) In nat unius cf; (256[va]) In nat unius cf qui non est pont; (259[ra]) Plurimorum cff; (260[va]) Unius v; (264[vb]) Plurimorum mm trium lectionum.

12. (f. 265[ra]-267[vb]) Suffragia
(265[ra]) Incipiunt suffragia sanctorum in matutinis et in vesperis in diebus ferialibus siue in festis trium lectionum per anni circulum. Et primo in aduentu domini usque ad natiuitatem domini. Ad Matutinum. A. *Spiritus sanctus in te descendet Maria...* - (267[vb]) [De s Iohanne Ev.] A. *Iste est Iohannes qui supra pectus domini*...V. *Valde honoratus* | Ut (red ink).
(265[rb]) De omnibus ss; (266[ra]) De s Iohanne Baptista; De s Iohanne ev; De apostolis; De b Iacobo; (265[rb]) De b Augustino; (266[va]) De b Petro; De b Georgio; (266[vb]) De b Francisco; (267[ra]) De b Barbara; De b Yuo; (267[rb]) De omnibus ss; De pace; (267[va]) In vesperis. De trinitate; De cruce; (267[vb]) De angelis; De s Iohanne Baptista; De s Iohanne ev.

237 f. (ms. 185) and 267 f. (ms. 186). Parchment. Brown ink. 165 × 110 mm (90 × 32 mm), 2 columns of 28 lines, space between columns 10 mm (f. 8v of vol I). Catchwords. 2° folio: «Marcius habet dies xxxi luna xxxi». In vol II (ms. 186) f. 228-237 are bound before f. 227. Littera textualis rotunda.

DECORATION: Several inhabited initials and full borders are supplied in gold and colours. Other initials are supplied in red or blue with white or purple penwork decoration on a gold ground.

BINDING: Eighteenth/nineteenth-century parchment, with title gilt on a rectangular red leather label at head of the spine: «Breviar. S. Sep. P. I (/P. II) Mss.» On vol. I (ms. 185) «73» manuscript in ink in the upper left-hand cor-

ner of the upper cover. « G » manuscript in ink on a square paper label on the upper cover of both volumes. On f. 1[r] of both volumes oval stamp of the Palatina : « R. Biblioteca di Parma ». 175/8 × 135 × 50 mm.
ORIGIN : Either Nicosia, Cyprus, or Venice.
PROVENANCE : Made for Guido da Bagnolo (*c*.1320/25-70), physician and adviser to Peter I, king of Jerusalem and Cyprus (1359-69) ; on Guido see G. TIRABOSCHI, *Biblioteca modenese o Notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori natii degli stati del…duca di Modena*, 6 vols, Modena, 1781-6, I p. 134-7 ; *IBI* III p. 771 ; R. LIVI, Guido da Bagnolo, medico del re di Cipro, in *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi*, ser. 5, 11, 1918, p. 45-91.
OWNERSHIP : Charles [II] Louis of Bourbon (1799-1883), duke of Parma, king of Etruria from 1803, from 1817 based in Lucca awaiting the restitution of the territories of Parma. From 1824 duke of Lucca. In the same year Charles II employed the librarian Pietro Pera, who greatly augmented the collection of the duke with the acquisition of numerous complete private collections, mainly of local, Lucchese, provenance. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina. The collection was open to the public in 1837 and in 1847 it was transferred to Parma in occasion of the return of the family to their previous domains. Charles II abdicated in 1848 in favour of his son Ferdinand (Charles III), and during his years the collection was enriched with the inclusion of the private library of Ferdinand I of Bourbon (1751-1802), duke of Parma, who had left it in the ducal palace of Colorno. In 1865 the private library of the dukes Bourbon-Parma, called Palatina, was annexed by the Italian Government ; see *Notizie e documenti per una storia della Biblioteca Palatina di Parma*, ed. A. CIAVARELLA, Parma, 1962 ; L. FARINELLI, La Biblioteca Palatina di Parma, in *Le grandi biblioteche dell'Emilia-Romagna e del Montefeltro : I tesori di carta*, ed. G. ROVERSI and V. MONTANARI, Casalecchio di Reno, Bologna, 1991, p. 117-45 ; *Atlante dei beni culturali dell'Emilia Romagna. IV I beni bibliografici, musicali e teatrali*, ed. G. ADANI and J. BERTINI, Milan, 1996, p. 77-80 ; L. ZUMKELLER, La biblioteca liturgica dei duchi di Parma, in *La Braidense. La cultura del libro e delle biblioteche nella società dell'immagine*, Florence, 1991, p. 122-9 ; G. SCAROLA, La biblioteca di Carlo Ludovico di Borbone, un esempio di collezionismo ottocentesco, in *Cum picturis ystoriatum. Codici devozionali e liturgici della Biblioteca Palatina*, Modena, 2001 (Il giardino delle Esperidi, 14), p. 15-17.
BIBLIOGRAPHY : Mentioned in KOHLER p. 385-6 n. 2.

APPENDIX

CALENDARS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

1) Manuscripts from Jerusalem: HS^1, HS^3, HS^4, HS^5.
2) Manuscripts from Acre 1200-25: [HS^1], HS^8, HS^9, HS^{12}.
3) Manuscripts from Acre 1225-70: [HS^1], HS^{13}, HS^{14}, HS^{15}.
4) Manuscripts from Cyprus: [HS^1], HS^{16}, HS^{18}.

	HS^{1}	HS^{3}	HS^{4}	HS^{5}
	S 1128-1130	*S 1128-30*	*Ps c.1135*	*O 1153-57*
January				
1	Circumcisio dni	X	X	X 9L
2	Oct Stephani	X	X	X 9L
3	Oct Iohannis	X	X Genovefe v	X 9L
4	Oct Innocentum	X	X	X 9L
5		Vig	Symeonis mon	Vig Epiphanie
6	Epiphania dni	X	X	X 9L
7			Luciani m	
8			Severini ep et cf	
9			Iuliani et Basilisse	
10			Pauli primi her.	
11			Saluii m	
12			Satyri m	
13	Oct Ep. Hilarii et Remigi	X X X	XXX	X 3L X X
14	Felicis in Pincis	X	X	X 3L
15	Mauri ab	X	X	X 3L
16	Marcelli pp	X	X	X 3L
17			Antonii mon	
18	Prisce v	X	X	X 9L
19			Marii Marth. Aud. et Ab.	
20	Fabiani et Sebastiani	X X	Fabiani et Sebastiani	X X 9L
21	Agnetis v	X	X	X 9L
22	Vincentii m	X	X	X 9L
23			Emerentiane v	
24		Timothei ep et m	Babilli ep cum soc	Timothei 3L
25	Conv Pauli et Praeiecti m	X	XX	X X
26			Policarpi presb	Policarpi ep et mr 3L
27	Juliani ep	X	Iohannis Crisostomi et X	X (Io. Crisostomi ep)
28	Agnetis II	X	X	X
29			Valerii et Gilde cf	
30	Hier. Mathie ep et cf	X	Batildis regine	X
31			Metrani m	

February	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[3] S 1128-30	HS[4] Ps c.1135	HS[5] O 1153-57
1		Ignacii m	Brigide v et Ignatii ep	Ignatii ep et m
2	Purificatio Marie	X	X	X 9L
3		Blasii ep et m	Blasii ep et m	Blasii 9L
4			Auentini ep	
5	Agathe v	X	X	X 9L
6			Vedasti et Amandi epp	
7			Auguli ep et m	
8			Cuthmanni ep	
9			Ansberti archep	
10	Scolastice v	X	X	X 3L
11			Desiderii ep	
12			Eulalie v et m	
13			Eormenilde v	
14	Valentini m	X	X	X 3L
15			Cratonis m	
16			Iuliane v et Iuliani	
17			Polocromii(!) ep et Siluini ep	
18	Hier. Symeonis ep et m	X	X	X 9L
19			Gabinii presb	
20			Zenobii cum soc	
21			LXXIX mm	
22	Cathedra Petri	X	X	X 9L
23			Policarpi presb	Vigilia
24	Mathie ap	X	X	X 9L
25			Donati Iusti et al.	
26			Alexandri Fortunati et al.	
27			Iuliani m et Leandri ep	
28	Reconditio Augustini ep	X	Sixti pp	

March	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[3] S 1128-30	HS[4] Ps c.1135	HS[5] O 1153-57
1	Andegavis Albini	X	Severini cf et X	X 3L
2			Ceadde ep et cf	
3			Winualoci ab	
4			DCCCC mm	
5			Kierani ep	
6			Iuliani ep et cf	
7			Perpetue et Felicitatis	Perpetue et Felicit. CO
8			Felicis ep et cf	
9			Gregorii ep et cf	
10			Alexandri et Gaii mm	
11		XL martirum	XL militum	
12	Gregorii pp	X	X	X 9L
13			Eufrasie v	
14			Petri m	
15			Longini militis	
16			Ciriaci m	
17			Patricii et Geretrudis Ciriaci	
18	Hier. Alexandri ep et m	X	Edwardi regis	X 9L CO
19			Ioseph sponsi Marie	
20			Cuthberti ep	
21	Benedicti ab	X	X	X 9L
22			Afrodisii m	
23			Victoriani et Frumentii m	
24			Pigmenii m	
25	Ann. BMV Cruc. Christi et Imm. Y.	XX	X	X
26			Castuli m	
27	Resurrectio domini	X	Iohannis heremite	X
28			Prisce Malchi et Alexandri	
29			Stephani pp	
30			Quirini m	
31			Balbine v	

April	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[3] S 1128-30	HS[4] Ps c.1135	HS[5] O 1153-57
1			Walerici ab	
2			Marie Egyptiace	
3			Agapis et Cionie m	
4	Ambrosii ep	X	X	(X)
5			Hyrenis v	
6			Sixti pp et m	
7			Eiesippi cf	
8			Perpetui ep	
9			Procori m	
10			Apollonii m	
11			Leonis pp	(Leonis pp 3L)
12			Zenonis ep	
13			Euphemie v	(Eufemie v)
14	Tiburtii et Val. et Maximi m	X	XXX	X et Valeriani 3L
15			Olimpiadis et Maximi m	
16			XVII martirum	
17			Hermogenis m	
18			Perfecti m	
19			Elphei m	
20			Victoris pp	(Victoris pp et mr 3L)
21			Symeonis ep et m	
22			Gai pp	
23	Georgii m	X	X	X 9L
24			Melliti ep	
25	Marci ap et ev	X	X	X 9L
26			Cleti pp et m	
27	Hic exivit Noe de arca		Anastasii pp et m	
28	Vitalis m	X	X	
29			Agapis et Secundini m	
30			Erkenwaldi ep	Vig app Philippi et Iac.

May	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[3] S 1128-30	HS[4] Ps c.1135	HS[5] O 1153-57
1	App Philippi et Iacobi	XX	XX	XX 9L
2	Alexandrie Athanasii ep	X	X	X 3L
3	Inv. Crucis Al. Ev. et Theod.	XXXX	XXXX	X (9L) XXX
4	Hier. Quiriaci ep et m	X	X	X 3L
5			Nicetii ep et m	
6	Iohannis ap ante portam lat.	X	X	X 3L
7			Iohannis ep	
8			Victoris m	
9			Transl Andree ap	
10	Gordiani et Epimachi m	XX	XX	XX
11			Mamerti ep	
12	Nerei et Ach. et Pancratii m	XXX	XXX	XXX 3L
13	Marie ad Martires		Servatii ep et cf	
14			Pachomii ab	
15			Ysidori m	
16			Peregrini ep	
17			Torpedis m	
18			Felicis ep et m	
19			Potentiane v	
20	Eustasii Hic Noe intrav		Basille v	
21			Secundini cf	
22			Casti et Emilii m	
23			Desiderii ep	
24			Donatiani et Rogatiani	
25	Urbani pp et m	X	X	X 3L
26			Augustini archep	
27			Iulii m	
28			Germani ep	
29			Maximini archep	
30			Felicis pp et m	
31			Petronille v	

June	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[3] S 1128-30	HS[4] Ps c.1135	HS[5] O 1153-57
1	Nicomedis m	X	X	(X)
2	Marcellini et Petri	XX	XX	XX 3L
3			Herasmi ep et m	
4			Quirini ep et m	
5			Bonifatii ep et m	
6			Philippi diac. et cf	
7			Pauli ep et m	
8		Medardi et Gildardi	Medardi et Gildardi ep	Medardi et Gildardi 3L
9	Primi et Feliciani m	XX	XX	XX 3L
10			Gentulii cf	
11	Barnabe ap	X	X	X 9L
12	Basilidis Cyrini Nab. et Naz.	XXXX	XXXX	XXXX 3L
13			Felicule v	
14			Basilii ep	
15		Viti Mod et Cresc.	Viti Modesti et Cresc.	Viti Mod. et Cresc. 3L
16		Ciriaci et Iulite	Cirici et Iulitte m	Ciriaci et Iulite 3L
17			Botulfi cf	
18	Marci et Marcelliani m	XX	XX	XX 3L
19	Gervasii et Protasii	XX	XX	XX 3L
20			Novati ep	
21			Leuthfredi ab	
22	Paulini ep et cf	X	Albani m	X 3L
23	Vigilia	X	Edeltride v X	X
24	Nat Johannis Baptiste	X	X	X 9L
25			Gallicani m	
26	Iohannis et Pauli m	XX	XX	XX 9L
27			Zoili m et Simphorose	
28	Vigilia	Leonis pp X	Leonis pp X	Leonis pp (CO) X
29	App Petri et Pauli	XX	XX	XX 9L
30	Comm Pauli ap	X	X	X 9L

July	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[3] S 1128-30	HS[4] Ps c.1135	HS[5] O 1153-57
1	Oct Iohannis Baptiste	X	X	X 9L
2	Processi et Martiniani m	XX	XX	XX CO
3			Transl Thome ap	
4	Transl Martini ep		X	X CO
5			Domicii m	
6	Oct app Petri et Pauli	X	X	X 9L
7			Hedde ep	
8			Grimbaldi presb	
9			Cirilli ep et m	
10	Septem Fratrum	X	X	X 3L
11	Transl Benedicti ab	X	X	X 3L
12			Ermagore ep et m	
13			Silee ap	
14			Foce ep	
15	Festivitas Hierusalem	X	Div. app capta est Jerusalem	(X)
16			Bertini ab	(Eustachii cf 3L)
17			Alexii cf	(Marine v CO)
18			Transl Edburge	
19			Arsenii ab	
20			Margarite v	Margarete 9L
21	Praxedis v	X	X	X 3L
22	Marie Magdalene	X	X	X 9L
23	Apollinaris ep et m	X	X	X 3L
24	Vigilia	X	Christine v X	(Cristine CO) X
25	Iacobi ap Cristofori et Cucuf.	XXX	XX	X 9L XX CO
26			Iacincti m	
27			Septem dormientium	
28			Pantaleonis Naz. et Celsi	(Pantaleonis)
29	Felicis Simplicii Faust. et Bea.	XXXX	XXXX	XXXX
30	Abdon et Sennes m	XX	XX	XX
31	Germani ep et cf	X	X	X

	HS^1 *S 1128-1130*	**HS**^{3} *S 1128-30*	**HS**^{4} *Ps c.1135*	**HS**^{5} *O 1153-57*
August				
1	Ad vinc. Petri Machab.	XX	XX	X 9L X CO
2	Stephani pp et m	X	X	X 3L
3	Inv. Stephani Gamal. et soc	XX	X	X 9L
4			Tertullini m	
5			Oswaldi regis et m	
6	Transfig dni Sixti Fel. et Ag.	XXX	Sixti pp Felici et Ag.	X 9L XX CO
7	Donati ep et m	X	X	X 3L
8	Ciriaci cum soc	X	X	X 3L
9	Vigilia	X	Romani militis	X Romani mr 3L
10	Laurentii lev et m	X	X	X 9L
11	Tiburtii m	X	X	X co
12			Eupli diac	
13	Ypoliti cum soc	X	X et Radegundis	X 3L
14	Eusebii cf Vigilia	XX	XX	X CO X
15	Assumptio Marie	X	X	X 9L
16			Arnulfi ep	
17	Oct Laurentii	X	Mametis m	X CO
18	Agapiti m	X	X	X CO
19			Magni m	
20			Philiberti ab	(Bernardi ab)
21			Priuati ep Obiit Baluuinus	
22	Oct Marie Timothei et Sim.	XXX	Timothei et Simphoriani	XXX CO
23	Hier. Zachei ep et cf Vigilia	X	Apollinaris m X	XX 3L
24	Bartholomei ap	X	X	X 9L
25			Genesii m	
26			Hirenei et Abundii	
27	Rufi et Iuliani m	X Vigilia	X	X 3L
28	Augustini ep Hermetis m	XX	XX	XX 3L CO
29	Decoll. Iohannis Bapt. Sabine	XX	X	XX
30	Felicis et Audacti m	XX	X	XX 3L
31			Paulini et Aidani ep	

	HS^1 *S 1128-1130*	**HS**^{3} *S 1128-30*	**HS**^{4} *Ps c.1135*	**HS**^{5} *O 1153-57*
September				
1	Egidii ab	X Prisci m	X	X (Prisci m CO)
2			Antonini m	
3			Rimacli ep	
4	Oct Augustini	X patris nostri Ypon.	Transl Cuthberti et Birini	
5			Victorini m	
6			Donatiani cum al.	
7			Euurtii ep et cf	
8	Nat Marie Adriani m	XX	X	X 9L X CO
9	Gorgonii m	X	X	X 3L
10			Hylarii pp	
11	Proti et Iacincti m	XX	XX	XX 3L
12			Syri et Euenti ep	
13	Andegavis Maurili ep et cf	X	Philippi ep et m	X 3L
14	Exaltatio Crucis Corn. et Cyp.	XXX	XXX	X 9L XX CO
15	Nichomedis m	X	X	X (Oct Marie 9L)
16	Eufemie v	X	X Lucie et Geminiani	X
17			Lamberti m	Lamberti ep et m
18			Ferreoli m	
19			Pelei et Nili ep	
20	Vigilia	X	Eulogii m X	X (Fauste v)
21	Mathei ap et ev	X	X	X 9L
22	Mauricii cum soc	X	X	X 9L
23			Tecle v	(Thecle v)
24			Conceptio Iohannis Baptiste	
25	Cleophe disc dni et m	X	Firmini ep	X 3L
26			Cipriani m et Iustine v	
27	Cosme et Damiani m	XX	XX	XX 3L
28			Exuperii et Salonis ep	
29	Michaelis arch	X	X	X 9L
30	Hieronimi presb	X	X	X 9L

October	HS^{1} *S 1128-1130*	HS^{3} *S 1128-30*	HS^{4} *Ps c.1135*	HS^{5} *O 1153-57*
1	Germani Remigi et Vedasti	XXX	Remigii Obiit Emorfia	XXX et Amandi 3L
2	Leodegarii ep et m	X	X	X 3L
3			Dionisii et Candidi m	
4			Marci et Marciani	(Francisci)
5			Apollinaris ep et m	(Apollinaris 3L)
6	Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob	XXX Fidis v	Fidis v et m	Fidis v (XXX) 9L
7	Marci pp Sergi et Ba. Marc. Ap.	XXXXX	X Marcelli et Apulei	X 3L (XX et al. 3L)
8			Demetrii et Petri m	
9	Dionisii cum soc	X	X	X 9L
10			Gereonis cum sociis	
11	Transl Augustini ep	X	Nicasii ep cum sociis	(Nichasii ep et soc 3L)
12			Wilfridi ep et cf	
13			Theophili ep et cf	(Theophili ep)
14	Calixti pp et m	X	X et Fortunati	X 3L
15			Quinquaginta mm	
16			Michaelis archangeli	
17			Florentini ep	
18	Luce ev	X	X	X 9L
19			Ptolomei et Lucii m	(Fredewide v 3L)
20			Maximi et Caprasii m	
21			Undecim milia virginum	
22	Hier. Marci ep et m	X	Seueri ep et Valerii lev	X 9L
23			Romani ep et Seuerini ep	
24			Felicis ep et m cum sociis	
25		Crispini et Crispiniani	Crispini et Crispiniani m	Crispini et Crisp. 3L
26			Rustici et Amandi ep	(Demetrii m)
27	Vigilia	X	Florentii m X	X
28	App Symonis et Iude	XX	XX	XX 9L
29	Hier. Narcissi ep et cf	X	Quintini et Quirilli m	X 3L
30			Germani ep	*(Serapionis ep 3L)*
31	Vigilia omnium ss	Quintini m X	Quintini m X	X Quintini m 3L

November	HS^{1} *S 1128-1130*	HS^{3} *S 1128-30*	HS^{4} *Ps c.1135*	HS^{5} *O 1153-57*
1	Comm omnium ss	X	X	X
2	Comm omnium fidelium def.	X	Eustachii m	X 9L (Eustachii et soc)
3			Germani et Uitalis cf	
4			Clari m	
5			Felicis et Eusebii m	
6		Leonardi cf	Leonardi cf	Leonardi cf 3L
7			Wilibrodi ep	
8	Quattuor Coronatorum m	X	X	X 3L
9	Theodori m	X	X	X 3L
10		Martini pp et cf Vig	Martini pp et cf	Martini pp et cf 3L
11	Martini ep Menne m	XX	XX	X 9L X
12			Emiliani cf et Cuniberti cf	
13	Brictii ep et cf	X	X et Aldegundis v	X 3L
14			Serapionis cf	
15			Macuti ep	
16			Eucherii ep	
17			Aniani ep	
18	Oct Martini ep	X	X	X 9L
19			Maximi et Crispini ep	
20			Eadmundi regis et m	
21			Columbani ab	
22	Cecilie v et m	X	X	X 9L
23	Clementis ep et m	X	X	X 9L
24	Grisochoni m	X	X	X 3L
25	Caterine v et m	Petri Alexandrini ep	Petri Alexandrini et X	Petri Al. CO X 9L
26			Lini pp et m	
27			Maximiani ep	
28			Eusebii cf	
29	Vigilia Saturnini m	XX	XX	Saturn. 3L Vigilia
30	Andree ap	X	X	X 9L

December	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[3] S 1128-30	HS[4] Ps c.1135	HS[5] O 1153-57
1			Crisanti et Darie m	
2			Viuiane v	
3			Birini ep et cf	
4		Barbare	Transl Benedicti ab	Barbare v et m 9L
5	Hier. Sabe ab	X	Nicetii ep	X 9L
6	Nicolai arch	X	X	X 9L
7	Oct Andree ap	X	Ambrosii ep	X CO
8	Conceptio Marie	X	Eucharii archep	
9			Cipriani ab	
10			Eulalie v	
11		Damasi pp	Damasi pp	
12			Pauli ep	
13	Lucie v et m	X	X	X 9L
14			Nicasii ep	
15			Valeriani ep	
16			Barbare v	
17	Lazari	X	Ignatii ep	(X CO)
18			Cantiani ep	
19			Nemesii m	
20	Vigilia		Iulii m X	X
21	Thome ap	X	X	X 9L
22			Schirionis m	
23			Victorie v	
24	Vigilia Natalis dni		Gregorii X	X
25	Nat dni nostri Ihesu Christi	X Anastasie v	X	X 9L Anastasie CO
26	Stephani protom	X	X	X 9L
27	Iohannis ap et ev	X	X	X 9L
28	Innocentium	X	X	X 9L
29			Triphoni ep	Thome ep et mr 9L
30			Perpetui ep	(De occab 9L)
31	Silvestri pp Columbe v	XX	X	X 9L X CO

January	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[8] M 1200-28	HS[9] O 1202-28	HS[12] Ps 1223-25
1	Circumcisio dni	X	X DF	X D
2	Oct Stephani	X	X 9L	X 9L
3	Oct Iohannis	X	X 9L	X 9L
4	Oct Innocentum	X	X 9L	X 9L
5			Vigilia 3L	Vig
6	Epiphania dni	X	X DF	X
7				
8				
9				
10				
11		(Pauli primi heremite)	(Apud Brundisium Leucii ep et cf)	
12		(Ygini pp et m et Alexandri m)		
13	Oct Ep. Hilarii et Remigi	X X X	XXX	X X X 9L
14	Felicis in Pincis	X	X	X 3L
15	Mauri ab	X	X 3L	X 3L
16	Marcelli pp	X	X 3L	X 3L
17		Antonii ab et cf	Antonii ab 9L	
18	Prisce v	X	X	X
19		Marii Marthe Aud. et Ab.	Marii Marthe Aud. et Abacuc	
20	Fabiani et Sebastiani	X X	XX	X X 9L
21	Agnetis v	X	X	X 9L
22	Vincentii m	X	X	X 9L
23		Emerentiane v		
24		Timothei ep et m	Timothei ep et m	Timothei 9L
25	Conv Pauli et Praeiecti m	X	X	X X 9L
26				Juliani ep 3L
27	Juliani ep	X	Cenomannis Iuliani	Agnetis II 3L
28	Agnetis II	X	X	(Transl Thome de Aquino)
29		(Constantii ep et m)		
30	Hier. Mathie ep et cf		X (cancelled)	X 3L
31				

February	**HS**^{1} *S 1128-1130*	**HS**^{8} *M 1200-28*	**HS**^{9} *O 1202-28*	**HS**^{12} *Ps 1223-25*
1			Ignatii 3L	Ignatii 3L
2	Purificatio Marie	Hypapanti dni	X DF	Ypapanti dni
3		Blasii ep et m	Blasii ep	Blasii ep et m
4				
5	Agathe v	X	X 9L	X 9L
6		Vedasti et Amandi cf	(Vedasti et Amandi)	
7				
8				
9			(Sabini ep)	
10	Scolastice v	X	X 3L	X 3L
11				
12			Eulalie	Eulalie v et m
13				
14	Valentini m	X	X 3L	X
15				
16				
17				
18	Hier. Symeonis ep et m		X 9L	X
19			(Barbati ep)	
20				
21				
22	Cathedra Petri	X	X 9L	X 9L
23				
24	Mathie ap	X	X 9L	X 9L
25				
26				
27				
28	Reconditio Augustini ep			

March	**HS**^{1} *S 1128-1130*	**HS**^{8} *M 1200-28*	**HS**^{9} *O 1202-28*	**HS**^{12} *Ps 1223-25*
1	Andegavis Albini	X	X	X
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7		Perpetue et Felicitatis	Perpetue et Felicitatis	(Festum Thome de Aquino)
8				
9				
10				
11		Jer. XL martirum	Quadraginta mm	XL martirum
12	Gregorii pp	X	X	X 9L
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18	Hier. Alexandri ep et m		X	X
19				
20				
21	Benedicti ab	X		X
22				
23				
24				
25	Ann. BMV Cruc. Christi et Imm. Y.	X	XX	XX
26				
27	Resurrectio domini			X
28				
29				
30				
31				

April	HS[1] *S 1128-1130*	HS[8] *M 1200-28*	HS[9] *O 1202-28*	HS[12] *Ps 1223-25*
1	Ambrosii ep		X	
2				
3				
4				X
5				
6				
7				
8			(Leonis pp et cf)	
9				
10				
11	Tiburtii et Val. et Maximi m	XXX	XX 3L	
12				
13				
14				
15				
16			(Leo ep et cf)	
17				
18				
19				
20	Georgii m	X	X	
21				
22	Marci ap et ev	X	X	
23				X
24	Hic exivit Noe de arca			
25	Vitalis m	X	X	X 9L X
26				
27				X
28				X
29				(Petri m de ord. Pred. TD)
30				

May	HS[1] *S 1128-1130*	HS[8] *M 1200-28*	HS[9] *O 1202-28*	HS[12] *Ps 1223-25*
1	App Philippi et Iacobi	XX	XX	XX 9L
2	Alexandrie Athanasii ep		X 3L	X
3	Inv. Crucis Al. Ev. et Theod.	X	X DF	XXXX
4	Hier. Quiriaci ep et m	X	(Ierosolimis Quiriaci ep 9L)	X
5				
6	Iohannis ap ante portam lat.	X	X 9L	X
7				(Transl Petri m TD)
8		(Aparitio Michaelis arch)	(Inuentio Michaelis)	(Apparitio Michaelis TD)
9			(Transl Nicolai de Myra)	
10	Gordiani et Epimachi m	XX	XX	XX
11				
12	Nerei et Ach. et Pancratii m	XX (Crispoliti ep et m)	XXX 3L	XXX
13	Marie ad Martires			
14				
15				
16		(Vbaldi ep et m)		
17				
18				
19				
20	Eustasii Hic Noe intrav		(X)	Hic Noe intravit in ar.
21				
22				
23				
24				(Transl Dominici TD)
25	Urbani pp et m	X	X	X
26				
27				
28				
29				
30				
31				

June	HS[1] *S 1128-1130*	HS[8] *M 1200-28*	HS[9] *O 1202-28*	HS[12] *Ps 1223-25*
1	Nicomedis m			
2	Marcellini et Petri	XX	XX 3L	XX
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8		Medardi et Gildardi cf	Medardi et Gildardi 3L	Medardi et Gildardi
9	Primi et Feliciani m	XX	XX 3L	XX
10				
11	Barnabe ap	X	X 9L	X 9L
12	Basilidis Cyrini Nab. et Naz.	XXX	XXXX et Felicis 3L	XXXX
13				
14		(Margarita v)		
15		Viti et Modesti mm	Viti Modesti et Crescentie 3L	Viti Mod. et Crescentie
16		Cirici et Iulite mm	Cirici et Iulite 3L (erased)	Cirici et Vilite
17				
18	Marci et Marcelliani m	XX	XX 3L	XX
19	Gervasii et Protasii		XX 3L	XX
20				
21				(Comm Rogeri comitis)
22	Paulini ep et cf	Albani m	X 3L	X
23	Vigilia	X	X 3L	X
24	Nat Johannis Baptiste	X	X DF	X
25			Eligii (erased)	
26	Iohannis et Pauli m	XX	XX 3L	X 9L
27				
28	Vigilia	X	X Leonis pp 3L	X
29	App Petri et Pauli	XX	XX DF	XX
30	Comm Pauli ap	X	X 9L Marcialis ep	X *Martialis ep 9L*

July	HS[1] *S 1128-1130*	HS[8] *M 1200-28*	HS[9] *O 1202-28*	HS[12] *Ps 1223-25*
1	Oct Iohannis Baptiste	X	X 9L	X
2	Processi et Martiniani m	XX (Visitatio Marie)	XX (Festum visitacionis BMV)	XX (Visitationis BMV TD)
3				
4	Transl Martini ep	X	X	X
5			*** (erased)	
6	Oct app Petri et Pauli	X	X	X
7				
8				
9				
10	Septem Fratrum	X (et Paterniani ep et m)	X 3L	X
11	Transl Benedicti ab	X (erased)	X 3L	
12		Dedic. eccl. Acconensis		
13		(Margharite v)	(Hic obiit magister Barnardus)	
14				
15	Festivitas Hierusalem		Dedicatio (erased)	Ded. eccl. s Sep. X
16				
17				(Alexii cf 3L)
18				
19		Oct dedicationis		
20		Margarete v (erased)	Margarite 9L	(Margarite Simplex)
21	Praxedis v	X	X 3L	X
22	Marie Magdalene	X	X 9L	X
23	Apollinaris ep et m	X	X 3L	X
24	Vigilia	X Christine v	X 3L	X
25	Iacobi ap Cristofori et Cucuf.	XXX	XXX 9L	XXX 9L
26				
27		Septem dormientium		
28		Pantaleonis m		(Pantaleonis 9L)
29	Felicis Simplicii Faust. et Bea.	XXX	XX	XXXX
30	Abdon et Sennes m	XX	XX	XX
31	Germani ep et cf	X	X 3L	X

August	HS[1] *S 1128-1130*	HS[8] *M 1200-28*	HS[9] *O 1202-28*	HS[12] *Ps 1223-25*
1	Ad vinc. Petri Machab.	XX	X 9L	X 9L X
2	Stephani pp et m	X	X 3L	X
3	Inv. Stephani Gamal. et soc	XX	X 9L	X 9L
4			Inventio [?] 9L	
5		(Dominici cf et Maria delaneue)	(Dominice cf)	(Dominici cf TD)
6	Transfig dni Sixti Fel. et Ag.		(X)	Sixti Felic. et Agapiti
7	Donati ep et m	X	X 3L	X
8	Ciriaci cum soc	X	X (Obiit Ambrosius)	Ciriaci Largi et Smar.
9	Vigilia	X Romani m	X 3L	Firmi et Rustici
10	Laurentii lev et m	X	X 9L	X 9L
11	Tiburtii m	X	(Obiit Bartholomeus)	X
12				(Oct Dominici D)
13	Ypoliti cum soc	X	X 3L	X et Cassiani
14	Eusebii cf Vigilia	Vigilia	XX 3L	Felicis et Fortunati XX
15	Assumptio Marie	X	X DF	X
16				
17	Oct Laurentii	X	X 3L	X
18	Agapiti m	X	X 3L	X
19				
20				Leontii et Carp. (Samuelis 9L)
21				
22	Oct Marie Timothei et Sim.	XXX	X 9L XX 3L	XXX
23	Hier. Zachei ep et cf Vigilia		X	
24	Bartholomei ap	(Vigilia)	X 9L	X
25		(Bartholomei ap)	(Beneuentum Bartholomei)	Genesii m (Lodouici Simplex)
26				Alexandri m
27	Rufi et Iuliani m	X	X 3L	
28	Augustini ep Hermetis m	X	Patris nostri Augustini ep DF X	XX
29	Decoll. Iohannis Bapt. Sabine	X	X 9L X	XX
30	Felicis et Audacti m	XX	XX 3L	XX
31				

September	HS[1] *S 1128-1130*	HS[8] *M 1200-28*	HS[9] *O 1202-28*	HS[12] *Ps 1223-25*
1	Egidii ab	X	X	X 9L
2			*** (cancelled)	
3			*** (cancelled)	
4	Oct Augustini		X 9L	X 9L
5				
6				
7				
8	Nat Marie Adriani m	X	X DF	XX
9	Gorgonii m	X	X 3L	X
10				
11	Proti et Iacincti m	XX	XX 3L	XX
12				
13	Andegavis Maurili ep et cf	X	X 3L	
14	Exaltatio Crucis Corn. et Cyp.	X	X DF	XXX 9L
15	Nichomedis m	Oct Marie X	X 3L	X
16	Eufemie v	X		X
17		Lamberti ep et cf	Lamberti 3L	Lamberti ep et m
18				
19				
20	Vigilia	Vigilia	***	X
21	Mathei ap et ev	X	X 9L	X 9L
22	Mauricii cum soc	X	X	X 9L
23		Tecle v	(*** m.ccc.lx.***)	
24				
25	Cleophe disc. dni et m	Firmini ep et m		X
26		Cipriani ep et m		
27	Cosme et Damiani m	XX		XX 9L
28				
29	Michaelis arch	X	X	X
30	Hieronimi presb	X	X	X 9L

October	HS^{1} *S 1128-1130*	HS^{8} *M 1200-28*	HS^{9} *O 1202-28*	HS^{12} *Ps 1223-25*
1	Germani Remigi et Vedasti	XXX	XXX 3L	XXX 9L
2	Leodegarii ep et m	X	X 3L	X
3				
4		(Francisci)	(Francisci cf)	(Francisci Simplex)
5				
6	Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob	Fidis v	XXX 9L	XXX
7	Marci pp Sergi et Ba. Marc. Ap.	Sergi et Bachi mm	X Marcelli et Apulei 3L	XXXXX
8		Demetrii m	[?] DF	
9	Dionisii cum soc	X	X 9L	
10				
11	Transl Augustini ep	Nicasii m cum soc		
12				
13				
14	Calixti pp et m		X	X
15				
16			(In Tuba Michaelis arch)	
17				
18	Luce ev	X	X	X 9L
19		Pelagie v		
20				
21				(Undecim milium vv TD)
22	Hier. Marci ep et m			X
23		Severini ep et cf		
24				
25		Crispini et Crispiniani mm	(Mauri pont Pantaleonis et Sergii)	Crispini et Crispiniani
26				
27	Vigilia	X		X
28	App Symonis et Iude	XX		XX 9L
29	Hier. Narcissi ep et cf			
30				
31	Vigilia omnium ss	X Quintini m	X	*Quintini Nem. Foillani 9L X*

November	HS^{1} *S 1128-1130*	HS^{8} *M 1200-28*	HS^{9} *O 1202-28*	HS^{12} *Ps 1223-25*
1	Comm omnium ss	X	X DF	X
2	Comm omnium fidelium def.	X	X	X
3		Eustachii m		
4			(Vitalis)	
5				
6		Leonardi cf	Leonardi 3L	Leonardi cf
7				
8	Quattuor Coronatorum m	X	X 3L	X
9	Theodori m	X	X 3L	X
10		Martini pp et m	Martini pp 3L	Martini pp et m
11	Martini ep Menne m	X	X 9L	XX
12				
13	Brictii ep et cf	X	X 3L	X (Floridi et Amantii cf D)
14				
15			Cessatoris ep	
16				
17				
18	Oct Martini ep	X	X 3L	X 9L
19			(Elisabet)	
20				
21			(Presentacio BMV)	
22	Cecilie v et m	X	X 9L	X 9L
23	Clementis ep et m	X	X 9L (et Felicitatis)	X 9L
24	Grisochoni m	X	X 3L	X
25	Caterine v et m	X		Petri Al. ep et m (Katerine)
26		Lini pp et m		
27			Alexandri ep?	
28				
29	Vigilia Saturnini m	XX	X	XX
30	Andree ap	X	X	X 9L

	HS[1]	HS[8]	HS[9]	HS[12]
	S 1128-1130	*M 1200-28*	*O 1202-28*	*Ps 1223-25*
December				
1			Eligii	
2				
3				
4			Barbare 9L	
5	Hier. Sabe ab	X	Ierusalem Sabe ab 9L	X
6	Nicolai arch		X 9L	X
7	Oct Andree ap	X	X 3L	X
8	Conceptio Marie	X	(Conceptio BMV)	X
9				
10				
11				
12				
13	Lucie v et m	X	X	X
14				
15				
16				
17	Lazari		X quem dominus suscitauit 9L	X
18				
19				
20	Vigilia	X	X	X
21	Thome ap	X	X 9L	X
22				
23				
24	Vigilia Natalis dni	X	X 3L	X
25	Nat dni nostri Ihesu Christi	X	X DF Anastasie	X
26	Stephani protom	X	X DF	X
27	Iohannis ap et ev	X	X DF	X
28	Innocentium	X	X DF	X
29		Thome m Cantuar. archep	Thome Cantuariensis ep et m	
30			(Rogerii ep Canensis)	
31	Silvestri pp Columbe v	X	X 9L X	XX

	HS[1]	HS[13]	HS[14]	HS[15]
	S 1128-1130	*S 1225-28*	*B 1256-61*	*M 1262-70*
January				
1	Circumcisio dni	(X (red) et Basilii ep et cf)	Oct Stephani	X
2	Oct Stephani	(X (red) et Martine)	Oct Iohannis	X
3	Oct Iohannis	(X (red))	Oct Innocentum	X
4	Oct Innocentum	(X (red))		X
5		(Vigilia)	Vig	
6	Epiphania dni	(X (red))	X	X
7				Luciani presb
8			Patientis ep Meten.	Gudile v
9				Iuliani m
10		(Pauli primi heremitae)	Polienti ep	Pauli anachorite
11		(Igini pp et m 9L)		Salvii m
12				
13	Oct Ep. Hilarii et Remigi	(X SD)	X X X	X X (X)
14	Felicis in Pincis	(X 9L)	X	X
15	Mauri ab	(X 9L)	X	
16	Marcelli pp	(X 9L)	X	X
17		(Anthonii ab 9L)	Supplicii ep et cf	Sulpicii archep Bitur. Antonii
18	Prisce v	(X 9L)	X	X
19		(Marii Marthe Aud. Ab. 9L)	Marii Marthe Aud. Ab.	
20	Fabiani et Sebastiani	(XX 9L)	X X	XX
21	Agnetis v	(X (red))	X	X
22	Vincentii m	(X et Anestasii m)	X	X
23		(Emerentiane v et m)	Emerenciane et Macarii	Emerenciane v
24			X	
25	Conv Pauli et Praeiecti m	(X SD (red))	X	XX
26			Policarpi	Policarpi presb
27	Juliani ep		Iohannis Crisostomi ep et cf	Iohannis Chrisostomi
28	Agnetis II	(X)	X	
29			Valerii ep et cf Serene v	
30	Hier. Mathie ep et cf			
31		(Ciri et Iohannis m)		

February	HS^{1} S 1128-1130	HS^{13} S 1225-28	HS^{14} B 1256-61	HS^{15} M 1262-70
1		(Ignatii ep et m)	Brigide v	Brigide
2	Purificatio Marie	(X Maius D (red))	X	X
3		(Blasii ep et m)	Blasii ep et cf	Blasii ep
4		(Giliberti cf)		Pelasii pp
5	Agathe v	(X SD (red))	X	X
6		(Anniv. patrum et matrum)	(Vedasti et Amandi 3L)	Vedasti et Amandi
7				
8				Pauli ep
9		(Guillemi cf SD (red))		
10	Scolastice v	(X)	Iona Hyrenei Iacincti et Aman.	X
11			Scolastice v	Eufrasie v
12				Eulalie v
13				
14	Valentini m	(X)	X Vitalis	X atque Valentiniani
15				
16			Symeonis ep. Meten.	Iuliane
17				
18	Hier. Symeonis ep et m		Legentii ep Meten. (X 9L)	
19				
20				
21			Felicis ep Meten.	
22	Cathedra Petri	(X SD (red))	X	X
23		(Vigilia)		
24	Mathie ap	(X SD (red))	X	X
25				
26				
27				
28	Reconditio Augustini ep	(X (red))		

March	HS^{1} S 1128-1130	HS^{13} S 1225-28	HS^{14} B 1256-61	HS^{15} M 1262-70
1	Andegavis Albini	X		Albani ep
2				Simplicii pp
3				
4				
5				
6				
7			Perpetue et Felicitatis	Perpetue et Fel. (Thome)
8				
9				
10				
11		XL martirum	(SS mm XL 9L)	
12	Gregorii pp	X	X	X
13				
14				
15				
16				
17			Gertrudis v	
18	Hier. Alexandri ep et m	X	(X)	
19				
20			Urbitii ep Meten.	
21	Benedicti ab	X	X	X
22				(Pauli ep Narbone)
23				
24				
25	Ann. BMV Cruc. Christi et Imm. Y.	XX	X	X
26				
27	Resurrectio domini	X	X	X
28				
29				
30			(Pasio Secundini m)	
31				

April	HS[1] *S 1128-1130*	HS[13] *S 1225-28*	HS[14] *B 1256-61*	HS[15] *M 1262-70*
1		X		
2				M. Egiptiace
3				
4	Ambrosii ep		X	X
5				(Vincentii cf de ord. Pred.)
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11		XXX	Leonis pp	
12				
13				Eufemie v
14	Tiburtii et Val. et Maximi m		XX	XXX
15				
16				
17				
18				
19			Leonis pp	
20		X		
21				
22		X		
23	Georgii m	Cleti pp et m	X	X
24		X (red)		
25	Marci ap et ev	X	X	X
26				
27	Hic exivit Noe de arca			
28	Vitalis m		X	X
29				(Petrus m de ord. Pred.)
30				Eutropii ep et m

May	HS[1] *S 1128-1130*	HS[13] *S 1225-28*	HS[14] *B 1256-61*	HS[15] *M 1262-70*
1	App Philippi et Iacobi	XX	XX	XX
2	Alexandrie Athanasii ep	X	Transl Clementis ep	X
3	Inv. Crucis Al. Ev. et Theod.	XXX et Theodori	X	XXXX
4	Hier. Quiriaci ep et m	X	(X 9L)	
5				
6	Iohannis ap ante portam lat.	X	X	X
7				
8				Victoris m (Invencio Michael)
9			Transl Nicholai ep	(Apud Barum transl Nicolai)
10	Gordiani et Epimachi m	XX	XX	XX
11		Poncii m	Gendulfi m	
12	Nerei et Ach. et Pancratii m	XXX	XX	XXX
13	Marie ad Martires		Sevatii ep et cf	
14			Victoris et Corone	
15				
16			Transl Therentii ep Meten.	
17				
18				
19		Potentiane v	Potentiane v	Potentiane v
20	Eustasii Hic Noe intrav	X (red)		Austregesili archep et cf
21				
22				Ausonii ep
23				
24				
25	Urbani pp et m	X	X	X
26				
27				
28		Germani ep et cf	Germani ep et cf	Germani ep et cf
29			Maximini ep et cf	
30				
31		Petronille v	Petronille v	Petronille v

June	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[13] S 1225-28	HS[14] B 1256-61	HS[15] M 1262-70
1	Nicomedis m	X	X (Transl Secundi m)	X
2	Marcellini et Petri	XX	XX	XX (et Herasmi)
3			Pergentini et Laurentini	
4				
5			Bonifacii et soc	Bonefacii m
6				
7				
8		Medardi et Gildardi	Medardi ep et cf	Medardi ep et cf
9	Primi et Feliciani m	XX	XX	XX
10				
11	Barnabe ap	X	X	X
12	Basilidis Cyrini Nab. et Naz.	XXXX	XXXX	XXXX
13			Antonii cf	
14				Aniani ep (Exuperii ep)
15		Viti Mod. et Cresc.	Viti et Modesti m	Viti m
16		Cirini et Julite	Legontii et Fromini epp Meten.	Cirici et Iulitte
17				
18	Marci et Marcelliani m	XX	XX	XX
19	Gervasii et Protasii	XX	XX	XX
20			Vitalis m	
21			Albani m	
22	Paulini ep et cf	X	Albini m (X)	Albani m
23	Vigilia	X	Aviti cf X	X
24	Nat Johannis Baptiste	X	X	X
25				(Transl Saturnini Eligii ep)
26	Iohannis et Pauli m	XX	XX	XX
27			Crispini et Crispiniani m	
28	Vigilia	X Leonis pp	Leonis pp X	X (Leonis pp)
29	App Petri et Pauli	XX	XX	XX
30	Comm Pauli ap	X Marcialis ep et cf	X	X et Martialis

July	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[13] S 1225-28	HS[14] B 1256-61	HS[15] M 1262-70
1	Oct Iohannis Baptiste	X	Theobaldi cf	X
2	Processi et Martiniani m	XX	XX	XX
3				
4	Transl Martini ep	X	X	(X)
5				
6	Oct app Petri et Pauli	X	X	XX
7				
8				
9				
10	Septem Fratrum	X	X	X
11	Transl Benedicti ab	X	X	X
12				
13			Margarete v et m	
14				
15	Festivitas Hierusalem	Dedic. eccl. et liberatio Jer.	Divisio Apostolorum	Liberatio Ierusalem
16				
17				(Alexii cf)
18			Transl Arnulfi ep	Arnulfi ep et cf
19			Rufine v et m	
20		Margarite v et m	Victoris m (Margarite v)	(Margarite v et m)
21	Praxedis v	X		X
22	Marie Magdalene	X	X	X
23	Apollinaris ep et m	X	X	X
24	Vigilia	Christine v et m X	Cristine v et m X	Cristine v et m X
25	Iacobi ap Cristofori et Cucuf.	XXX	XX	X X
26			(Anne dei gen. Marie matris)	(Anne matris b Marie v)
27		Septem dormientium	Frominii ep Meten.	Septem dormientium
28		Naz. et Cel. Pant. et Sams.	Pantaleonis m	Pantaleonis m
29	Felicis Simplicii Faust. et Bea.	XXXX	(XXXX Marthe hospite Christi)	XXX
30	Abdon et Sennes m	XX	XX	XX
31	Germani ep et cf	X	X	X

August	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[13] S 1225-28	HS[14] B 1256-61	HS[15] M 1262-70
1	Ad vinc. Petri Machab.	XX	X	XX
2	Stephani pp et m	X	X	X
3	Inv. Stephani Gamal. et soc	X et soc	X	X
4				
5				
6	Transfig dni Sixti Fel. et Ag.	XXXX Iusti et Pastoris	Syxti et Agapiti m	XXXX (Dominici cf)
7	Donati ep et m	X	X	X
8	Ciriaci cum soc	X	X	X
9	Vigilia	Romani m X	Auctoris ep Meten.	Romani m
10	Laurentii lev et m	X	X	X
11	Tiburtii m	X	X	X
12			(Clare v)	(Clare v)
13	Ypoliti cum soc	X	X	X Radegundis regine
14	Eusebii cf Vigilia	XX	XX	X
15	Assumptio Marie	X	X	
16			Arnulfi ep (Rochi cf)	X
17	Oct Laurentii	X	X	X
18	Agapiti m	X	X	
19			Magni m	
20				
21			Privati ep et m	XXX
22	Oct Marie Timothei et Sim.	XXX	XXX	Vigilia
23	Hier. Zachei ep et cf Vigilia	XX	Vigilia Apollinaris m	X
24	Bartholomei ap	X	X	Genesii m (et Ludivici cf)
25			Genesii m (Ludovici cf)	Cirenei et Habundi m
26				X
27	Rufi et Iuliani m	X	Rufi ep Meten.	X et Iuliani et X
28	Augustini ep Hermetis m	XX et Iuliani m	X	XX
29	Decoll. Iohannis Bapt. Sabine	XX	X	XX
30	Felicis et Audacti m	XX	XX	Paulini ep et cf
31			Paulini ep et cf	

September	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[13] S 1225-28	HS[14] B 1256-61	HS[15] M 1262-70
1	Egidii ab	X	[P]risci m	Prisci m et X (Lupi ep et cf)
2				Antonini m
3			Mansueti et Remadi epp	
4	Oct Augustini	X	Marcelli m	
5				
6			Gondulphi ep Meten.	
7				
8	Nat Marie Adriani m	XX	X	X
9	Gorgonii m	X	X	X
10		Saluii ep et cf	(Nicolai de Tolentino)	
11	Proti et Iacincti m	XX	XX	XX
12				
13	Andegavis Maurili ep et cf	X	Amati ab	X
14	Exaltatio Crucis Corn. et Cyp.	XXX	X	X
15	Nichomedis m	X	X	X
16	Eufemie v	X	(X 9L)	X
17		Lamberti ep et cf	Lamberti ep et m	Lamberti ep et cf
18				
19			Goerici ep Meten.	
20	Vigilia	X	X	Faustine v
21	Mathei ap et ev	X	X	X
22	Mauricii cum soc	X	X	X
23			Tecle v	Tecle v
24				
25	Cleophe disc dni et m	X	Sergii et Bachi (X)	
26			(Cipriani ep et Iustine v)	Iustine v
27	Cosme et Damiani m	XX	XX	XX
28				
29	Michaelis arch	X	X	X
30	Hieronimi presb		X	X

October	HS1 *S 1128-1130*	HS13 *S 1225-28*	HS14 *B 1256-61*	HS15 *M 1262-70*
1	Germani Remigi et Vedasti	XXX	Remigi ep et cf	XXX
2	Leodegarii ep et m	X	X	X
3				
4		Marci et Marciani	(Francisci cf)	(In festo Francisci)
5		Apollinaris ep et cf		
6	Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob	Fidis XXX	(XXX 9L)	Fidis v
7	Marci pp Sergi et Ba. Marc. Ap.	XXX et Scubiculi m	X (XX)	X Marcelli et Apulei
8				
9	Dionisii cum soc	X	X	X
10			Gereonis et soc	
11	Transl Augustini ep	Germani Nicasii Quirini		
12				
13		Geraldi ab et cf		
14	Calixti pp et m	X	Celestis ep Meten. (X 3L)	X
15				
16			Galli ab	
17				
18	Luce ev	X	X	X
19				
20				Caprasii m
21			XI milium virginum	Severini ep et cf Hilarioni cf
22	Hier. Marci ep et m	X	(Marie Iacobi et Salome)	
23			Severini ep et cf	
24				
25		Crispini et Crispiniani	Crispini et Cripiniani	Crispini et Crisp (Frontonis cf)
26				
27	Vigilia	X	X	
28	App Symonis et Iude	XX	XX	XX
29	Hier. Narcissi ep et cf	X	Terentii ep Meten.	
30				
31	Vigilia omnium ss	Quintini X	Quintini m	*Quintini m*

November	HS1 *S 1128-1130*	HS13 *S 1225-28*	HS14 *B 1256-61*	HS15 *M 1262-70*
1	Comm omnium ss	X Cesarii m	X	X Cesarii m
2	Comm omnium fidelium def.	Eustachii soc X	X (Eustochii et soc)	Eustachii cum soc suis
3				
4		Amancii ep	Amantii ep et cf	
5				
6		Leonardi ab et cf	Melanii ep et cf (Leonardi 3L)	Leonardi cf
7				
8	Quattuor Coronatorum m	X	X	X
9	Theodori m	X	X	X
10		Martini pp et m	(Martini pp et m 3L)	[M]artini pp
11	Martini ep Menne m	X	(X)	XX
12				
13	Brictii ep et cf	X et gloriosi Verani ep	X	X
14				
15				
16				
17		Anniani ep	Aniani ep et cf (3L)	
18	Oct Martini ep	X Romani m	Romani m (3L)	
19			Symplicii ep (3L Elisabeth)	
20				
21		Columbani ab	(Scilomini cf 9L)	
22	Cecilie v et m	X	X (9L)	X
23	Clementis ep et m	X et Felicitatis m	X (9L)	X pp
24	Grisochoni m	X		X
25	Caterine v et m	Petri Al. ep et m X	X (9L)	Petri ep et m
26		Lini pp et m	Lini pp et m (9L)	Lini pp
27		Agricole et Vitalis		Agricole et Vitalis
28			Syle(?) ap	
29	Vigilia Saturnini m	XX	X	XX
30	Andree ap	X	X (9L)	X

December	HS[1]	HS[13]	HS[14]	HS[15]
	S 1128-1130	S 1225-28	B 1256-61	M 1262-70
1		Crisanti Mauri et Darie	Eligii et Agevici epp	Elegii ep
2				
3			Firmini ep	
4		X	X	(Barbare v et m)
5	Hier. Sabe ab	X	(X 9L)	
6	Nicolai arch	X	X	X
7	Oct Andree ap	X	X	
8	Conceptio Marie		Eucharii ep et cf (X)	(X)
9		Leocadie v		
10		Eulalie v		Eulalie et Valerie
11		Pauli et Damasi ep	Clodulfi ep et cf Meten.	Damasi pp
12				Pauli ep et cf
13	Lucie v et m	X	X	X
14				
15				
16				
17	Lazari	X	(X)	Ignatii m Nazari ep et cf
18				
19				
20	Vigilia	X	X	X
21	Thome ap	X	X	X
22				
23				
24	Vigilia Natalis dni	X	X	X
25	Nat dni nostri Ihesu Christi	X	X Anastasie	X
26	Stephani protom	X	X	X
27	Iohannis ap et ev	X	X	X
28	Innocentium	X	X	X
29		Trophini ep Thome archep	Thome ep et m	Thome archep Cantuar. eccl.
30				
31	Silvestri pp Columbe v	XX	X	XX

January	HS[1]	HS[16]	HS[18]
	S 1128-1130	B 1308-15	B 1359-65
1	Circumcisio dni	X	X (red)
2	Oct Stephani	X	X
3	Oct Iohannis	X	X
4	Oct Innocentum		X
5			
6	Epiphania dni	X	X (red)
7		[ ] Claues lxx (red)	
8		Prima incensio lune (Dedicacio Beati ***)	
9			
10			Pauli primi heremite (red)
11			Ingnini pp
12			
13	Oct Ep. Hilarii et Remigi	X XX 3L	X
14	Felicis in Pincis	X (from the sanctoral)	X
15	Mauri ab	X 3L	X
16	Marcelli pp	X 3L	X
17		[?] 9L	Anthonii monachi
18	Prisce v	X (from the sanctoral)	X
19			Mauri Marthe Aud.
20	Fabiani et Sebastiani	XX (from the sanctoral)	XX (red)
21	Agnetis v	X (from the sanctoral)	X (red)
22	Vincentii m	X (from the sanctoral)	X et Anastasii (red)
23			Emerentiane v
24			
25	Conv Pauli et Praeiecti m	XX (from the sanctoral)	X (red)
26			
27	Juliani ep	X (from the sanctoral)	
28	Agnetis II	X (from the sanctoral)	X
29			
30	Hier. Mathie ep et cf		
31			Geminiani ep et cf (red)

February	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[16] B 1308-15	HS[18] B 1359-65
1		Ignacii ep et m	Severi ep Ignatii ep Brigide v
2	Purificatio Marie	Purificatio beate Marie 9L (TD)	X (red)
3		Blasii ep et m 3L (9L)	Blaxii ep et m (red)
4		(Giliberti ep et cf 3L)	
5	Agathe v	X (9L)	X (red)
6		Vedasti et Amandi epp 3L (Pantaleonis m)	Vendasti et Amandi ep
7		(Moysetis ep et cf Desiderii ep et cf)	
8		(Salomonis m Paulini ep 3L)	
9		(Ammoni et Alexandri, Apolonie v et m 3L)	
10	Scolastice v	Scolastice v et m 3L	X et Sotheris v
11		(Desiderii ep et cf 3L)	
12		Eulalie v et m 3L	
13		(Lizini ep et cf 3L)	
14	Valentini m	X 3L	X
15		(Faustini et Iouite m 3L)	Faustini et Iouite (red)
16		Iuliane v et m 3L	Iuliane v
17		(Donati sociorumque eius, Doniti ep et cf 3L)	
18	Hier. Symeonis ep et m	Iherusalem Symeonis ep et m 9L	
19		(Iuliani m 3L)	
20		(Galli presb et cf 3L)	
21		(Felisis cf 3L)	
22	Cathedra Petri	X 9L (SD)	X (red)
23		(Policarpi presb et cf Vigilia 3L)	
24	Mathie ap	X (SD)	X (red)
25		(*** Victoris et sociorumque eorum 3L)	Inuentio Iohannis Baptiste
26		(Alexandri ep et cf 3L)	
27		(Iuliani m 3L)	
28	Reconditio Augustini ep	(Romani ab)	

March	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[16] B 1308-15	HS[18] B 1359-65
1	Andegavis Albini	Albini ep et cf	X
2		(Iouini et Basilei m 3L)	
3		(Senatoris m 3L)	
4		(Lucii pp et m 3L)	
5		(Euzepii et aliorum viii mrm 3L)	
6		(Iuliani ep et m)	
7		Perpetue et Felicitatis v et m 3L	Thome Aquino
8		(Prima incensio pascalis)	
9		(SS ***)	
10		(Alexandri)	
11		Quadraginta mrm apud Iherusalem 9L	
12	Gregorii pp	Gregorii pp 9L	X
13		(Eufrasie v)	XL mm (red)
14		(Post istum locum non potest esse XL)	
15		(Longini m)	
16		(Patricii ep et cf)	
17		(Geltrudis v)	
18	Hier. Alexandri ep et m	Iherusalem Alexandri ep et m 9L	Primus dies seculi (red)
19		(Quinti cum aliis xi mm)	
20		(Cirili Eugeni cum iiii)	Guberti ep et cf
21	Benedicti ab	Benedicti ab 9L Sedes epactarum	X
22			
23			
24		Locus concurrentium (Agapiti m)	Vigilia (red)
25	Ann. BMV Cruc. Christi et Imm. Y.	Ann. dominica et Crucifixio domini (TD)	X (red)
26		(Teodori m)	
27	Resurrectio domini	Resurrectio domini (TD)	
28		(Castori et Dorotei m)	
29			
30			
31			

	HS[1]	HS[16]	HS[18]
	S 1128-1130	B 1308-15	B 1359-65
April			
1		Ambrosii ep et cf 9L (not in the sanctoral)	
2		(Marie egipciace 3L)	
3		(Pancracii m 3L)	
4	Ambrosii ep	(Ambrozii ep et cf)	X
5		(Marciane Nicanoris et Apolonie m)	
6		(Sixte pp m 3L)	
7		(Donati ep et cf 3L)	
8		(Dionisii ep et cf 3L)	
9		(Prochori m 3L)	
10		(Appollinii presb)	
11		(Leonis pp)	
12		(Costantini ep et m)	
13		Euphemie v 3L	
14	Tiburtii et Val. et Maximi m	Tyburcii et Valeriani mm	XX
15		(Maronis m)	
16		(Calixti et Carisii m)	
17		(Petri diac et cf Anacleti pp)	
18		(Eleuterii ep et m)	
19		(Ermogenis cum aliis vii m)	
20		(Victoris pp et m)	Dedicatio basilice s Marie
21		(Simeonis ep et m)	
22		(Epipodoii? m)	
23	Georgii m	Georgii m 9L	
24		Alexandri m (Georgii m)	X
25	Marci ap et ev	X 9L (SD)	Marci ev (red)
26		(Cleti pp et m)	
27	Hic exivit Noe de arca		
28	Vitalis m	X	X
29		Petre m (de ord. Pred.; not in sanctoral)	Petri noui m
30			

	HS[1]	HS[16]	HS[18]
	S 1128-1130	B 1308-15	B 1359-65
May			
1	App Philippi et Iacobi	XX (SD)	XX (red)
2	Alexandrie Athanasii ep	Atanasii ep (not in sanctoral?)	
3	Inv. Crucis Al. Ev. et Theod.	Inuentio s crucis (TD)	X (red)
4	Hier. Quiriaci ep et m	Iherusalem Quiriaci ep et m	
5		(Hilarii ep et cf Floriani m)	
6	Iohannis ap ante portam lat.	X (SD)	X
7		(Flauii ep et cf)	
8		Inuentio s Michaelis Petri ep et cf (not in sanctoral)	Apparitio Michaelis arch (red)
9		Transl s Nicholai (Gregorii Nazarii) (not in sanctoral)	
10	Gordiani et Epimachi m	XX	XX et Cathaldi
11		(Poncii m Epifanii ep et cf)	
12	Nerei et Ach. et Pancratii m	XXX	XXX
13	Marie ad Martires	(X)	X (dedicatio)
14		(Poncii m)	
15		(Bonifacii et Ysidoni m)	
16		(Aquilini et Victoriani m Victoris et||)	
17		(Torpetis m Petri)	
18		(Dioscori m)	
19		Potentiane v (not in sanctoral)	Potentiane v
20	Eustasii Hic Noe intrav	(Basille v Eustasii sociorumque eius)	
21		(***)	Senesii et Theopompi m
22		(Desiderii ep et m)	
23		(Flesterii? ep et m)	Desiderii ep et m
24		(Iohannis pp et m)	
25	Urbani pp et m	Augustini ep primi Anglorum (erased; not in sanctoral)	X Saluatoris (red)
26		Urbani pp	
27		Germani ep (not in sanctoral)	
28		(Martini ab et cf)	
29		(Maximi ep et cf)	
30		(Felicis pp et m)	
31		Petronille v (not in sanctoral)	Cantii Cantiani et Cantianille

June	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[16] B 1308-15	HS[18] B 1359-65
1	Nicomedis m	X 3L (b Proculi ep et m Bononie) (not in sanctoral)	X et Proculi m
2	Marcellini et Petri	XX 3L	X
3		(Lifradi cf Claudi arch et cf)	
4		(Quirini ep et m)	
5		Bonifacii ep 3L (not in sanctoral)	
6		(SS XX mm Claudi arch et cf)	
7		(Pauli ep et m)	
8		Medardi et Gildardi 3L	
9	Primi et Feliciani m	Primi et Feliciani 3L	XX
10		(Miri ep et cf)	
11	Barnabe ap	X 9L (SD)	X (red)
12	Basilidis Cyrini Nab. et Naz.	XXXX	XXX
13		Antonii cf fratrum Minorum (not in sanctoral)	Anthonii presb
14		(Rufini et Valeri m Basili ep et cf)	
15		Viti et Modesti et Crescentie 3L	Viti et Modesti (red)
16		Cirici et Iulite m	
17		(Quiriaci m)	
18	Marci et Marcelliani m	XX 3L	XX
19	Gervasii et Protasii	Geruasi et Prothasi m	XX
20		(Pauli et Siriaci m)	
21		(Euzebii ep et cf)	
22	Paulini ep et cf	Paulini ep et cf (not in sanctoral)	
23	Vigilia	Albani m X	X (red)
24	Nat Johannis Baptiste	X 9L (TD)	X (red)
25		(Transl Eligii ep et cf)	Prosperi ep et cf
26	Iohannis et Pauli m	XX	XX (red)
27		(Crescentis ep et cf)	VII dormientium
28	Vigilia	Leonis pp Vigilia	X
29	App Petri et Pauli	XX 9L (SD)	XX (red)
30	Comm Pauli ap	X 9L	X

July	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[16] B 1308-15	HS[18] B 1359-65
1	Oct Iohannis Baptiste	X	X
2	Processi et Martiniani m	XX (Visitacio||)	XX
3		(Anatolii ep)	
4	Transl Martini ep	Transl s Martini	
5		(Domicii m)	Margarite v et m (red)
6	Oct app Petri et Pauli	X	X
7		Transl s Thome Canturiensis archep (not in sanctoral)	
8		(Procopii et Secundini m)	Çuliani et Colonari
9		(Brici ep et cf)	
10	Septem Fratrum	X	X
11	Transl Benedicti ab	X (Sabini ep et cf)	X
12		(Naboris et Felicis)	Naboris et Felicis
13		(Anacleti pp)	
14		Dies caniculares incipiunt (Eraclee ep)	
15	Festivitas Hierusalem	Ded. s Sepulchri (et qui capta fuit I||) (not in sanctoral)	Quiriti et Iouite (red)
16		(Eustachii ep et cf)	
17		(Marine v Alexii cf)	Alexii hominis dei
18		(Arnulfi ep et m)	
19		(Arsenii cf)	
20		Margarite v (Helye proph fondatoris Carmelitarum)	
21	Praxedis v	X	X
22	Marie Magdalene	X (SD)	X
23	Apollinaris ep et m	X	X
24	Vigilia	(Christine v et m) X	Cristine X (red)
25	Iacobi ap Cristofori et Cucuf.	XXX	X (red) X
26		S Anne matris Marie (not in sanctoral)	Anne matris v
27		Septem dormientium (not in sanctoral) (Nazari et Celsi)	
28		Pantaleonis m	Nazarii Celsi et Pantaleonis
29	Felicis Simplicii Faust. et Bea.	XXX	X
30	Abdon et Sennes m	XX	XX
31	Germani ep et cf	X	X

August	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[16] B 1308-15	HS[18] B 1359-65
1	Ad vinc. Petri Machab.	XX 9L	X (red)
2	Stephani pp et m	X 3L	X
3	Inv. Stephani Gamal. et soc.	X 9L	X
4		(Iustini presb)	Systi pp (red)
5		Dominici cf fratrum Pred. (festum Marie de niuis)	Dominici cf ord. P red.
6	Transfig dni Sixti Fel. et Ag.	XXX 9L	
7	Donati ep et m	X 3L (Alberti ord. Carmelitarum SD)	X
8	Ciriaci cum soc.	X 3L	X Largi et Smaragdi
9	Vigilia	Romani m X 3L	X (red)
10	Laurentii lev et m	X 9L (SD)	X (red)
11	Tiburtii m	X 3L (not in sanctoral)	X
12		(Clare v)	Clare v
13	Ypoliti cum soc.	(Ipoliti sociorumque eius 3L)	X et Cassiani ep
14	Eusebii cf Vigilia	XX	X Felicis et Fortunati
15	Assumptio Marie	X D	X (red)
16		(Arnulfi ep et cf)	Transl. Leonardi cf
17	Oct. Laurentii	X 9L	X
18	Agapiti m	X 3L	X
19		(Magni m Lodouici regis ord. Minorum)	
20		Beati Bernardi ab 9L (not in sanctoral)	
21		(Anastacii m)	
22	Oct Marie Timothei et Sim.	XXX	Timothei et Simphoriani
23	Hier. Zachei ep et cf Vigilia	Iherusalem Zachei ep et cf X	Vigilia
24	Bartholomei ap	X 9L (SD)	X (red)
25		(Genesii m Ludouici regis Francorum)	
26		(Alexandri m)	
27	Rufi et Iuliani m	Ruphi m (3L)	
28	Augustini ep Hermetis m	XX 9L (et Hermetis SD)	X
29	Decoll. Iohannis Bapt. Sabine	XX (SD)	X (red)
30	Felicis et Audacti m	XX	XX
31			

September	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[16] B 1308-15	HS[18] B 1359-65
1	Egidii ab	Egidii ab (Prici m)	Lazari
2		Antonii m (not in sanctoral) (Mame)	Anthonii ep et cf
3		(Candide v)	Marini cf
4	Oct Augustini	Oct s Augustini	
5		(Bertini ab)	
6		(Donaciani sociorumque eius)	
7		Obitus Guidonis de Ybelino anno M.ccc.v|| (red)	
8	Nat. Marie Adriani m	X	X (red)
9	Gorgonii m	X	X
10		(Hylarii pp Adriani m)	
11	Proti et Iacincti m	XX	XX Felicis et Regule
12		Maurili ep et cf	
13	Andegavis Maurili ep et cf	(Sirii et Euencii epp)	
14	Exaltatio Crucis Corn. et Cyp.	X (X||)	X (red)
15	Nichomedis m	X (Oct de Nat||)	X
16	Eufemie v	X (Lucie et Geminiani)	X
17		Lamberti ep et m (not in sanctoral)	Lamberti ep et cf
18		(Ferreoli m Ianuarii ep)	
19		(Eustachi ep)	
20	Vigilia	X (Fauste v)	X (red)
21	Mathei ap et ev	X	X (red)
22	Mauricii cum soc.	X	X
23		Thecle v (Lini pp)	
24		(Germani ab)	
25	Cleophe disc dni et m	Cleophe discepoli domini	
26		(Cipriani ep et m)	
27	Cosme et Damiani m	XX	X
28		(Exuperii ep Faustini et Iou||)	
29	Michaelis arch	X	X (red)
30	Hieronimi presb	X	X

October	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[16] B 1308-15	HS[18] B 1359-65
1	Germani Remigi et Vedasti	XXX 3L	Remigi ep et cf
2	Leodegarii ep et m	X 3L	
3		(Candii m)	
4		Francisci cf (Petronii ep et cf Bononie patronus)	Francisci cf de ord. Minorum
5		Fidis v et m 3L	
6	Abrahe Ysaac et Iacob	Abraham Ysaac et Iacob Patriarcharum 9L	Marcelli et Apulei
7	Marci pp Sergi et Ba. Marc. Ap.	X (not in sanctoral) XX 3L	X et Iustine v Paduensis
8		Marcelli et Apulei 3L (Benedicte v)	
9	Dionisii cum soc.	X Rustici et Eleutherii 9L	Dominici X Rustici et Eleut. (red)
10		(Paulini ep et cf 3L)	
11	Transl Augustini ep	(Nichasii cum sorsiis suis 3L)	
12		(Cirici et Iulite Taraci Proli et Andronici)	Teraci Probi et Andronici
13		(Gerardi cf 3L Leutheri m)	
14	Calixti pp et m	X 3L	X
15		(Fortunati et Antiochi ep et cf)	
16		(Ambrosii ep et cf 3L)	Galli ab
17		(Marceli m Florencii ep et cf 3L)	
18	Luce ev	X (SD Iusti m)	X (red)
19		(Tolomei et Lucii m Santi Amati et F. 3L)	
20		(Zosimi cf s Capracii)	
21		Undecim milia vv 3L (not in sanctoral) (Ilarionis)	XI millia vv (red)
22	Hier. Marci ep et m	Iherusalem Marci ep et m (3L)	
23		(Seuerini ep et cf 3L)	
24		(Seuerini cf Columbani m 3L)	Felicis Nolane m
25		Crispini et Crispiniani 3L	
26		Demetrii m 3L	
27	Vigilia	X (Florencii 3L Yuo cf)	X
28	App Symonis et Iude	XX 9L	XX (red)
29	Hier. Narcissi ep et cf	Iherusalem Narcissi ep et cf 9L	
30		(Serapionis ep et cf)	Germani Capuani
31	Vigilia omnium ss	Quintini m X	X

November	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[16] B 1308-15	HS[18] B 1359-65
1	Comm omnium ss	X	X (red)
2	Comm omnium fidelium def.	Comm. omnium fidelium deffunctorum	X (red)
3		Eustachii (not in sanctoral) (Georgii m 3L)	
4		Amancii ep et cf (not in sanctoral) (Clari ep et m)	Vitalis et Agricole
5		(Felicis presb)	Felicis presb
6		Leonardi cf	
7		(Achile ep et cf 3L)	Prosdocimi ep et cf (red)
8	Quattuor Coronatorum m	X	X
9	Theodori m	X	X
10		Martini pp et m (3L)	
11	Martini ep Menne m	X (9L Menne MEM)	X (red)
12		(Emiliani presb MEM)	Martini pp et m
13	Brictii ep et cf	Bricii ep et cf (MEM)	X
14		(Serapionis m)	
15		(Eugenii m Macuti ep et cf)	
16		(Eucherii cf)	
17		(Aniani ep et cf)	
18	Oct Martini ep	X	
19		(Elizabeth Maximi presb)	
20		(Ponciani pp)	
21		(Presentacio b Marie 9L Columbani ab Soson||)	
22	Cecilie v et m	X	X
23	Clementis ep et m	X	X (red) Columbani ab
24	Grisochoni m	X	X Prosp[er]i cf
25	Caterine v et m	Katherine v Petri Alex||	X (red)
26		(Lini pp et m Iacobi ||)	
27		(Alexandri ep et cf Vitalis et ||)	
28		(Rufi m)	
29	Vigilia Saturnini m	XX	Grisanti et Darie Vigilia (red)
30	Andree ap	X	Saturnini m X (red)

December	HS[1] S 1128-1130	HS[16] B 1308-15	HS[18] B 1359-65
1		(Eligii ep et cf 9L)	Grisanti Mauri et Darie m
2		(Viuiane MEM)	
3		(Birini ep et cf)	
4		Barbare 9L	Barbare v
5	Hier. Sabe ab	Iherosolimis Sabbe ab 9L	
6	Nicolai arch	X 9L	X (red)
7	Oct. Andree ap	X (Ambrosii ep doct ecclesie SD)	X Ambrosii ep et cf (red)
8	Conceptio Marie	X 9L	Syri ep et cf (red)
9		(Cipriani ab)	Zenonis ep et cf (red)
10		(Eulalie v)	Eulalie v
11		(Damaci pp)	Damasi pp
12		(Spiridionis ep 9L)	
13	Lucie v et m	X 9L	X (red)
14		(Nicasii ep et cf)	
15		(Valeriani ep et cf)	
16		(Ananie Azarie Misael)	
17	Lazari	Lazarus 9L	
18		(Grasiani ep)	
19		(Clementis presb)	
20	Vigilia	X	
21	Thome ap	X (SD)	X
22		(Todocie v et m)	X (red)
23		(Seruuli cf)	Victorie v
24	Vigilia Natalis dni	(Gregorii presb et m Vigilia)	X (red)
25	Nat. dni nostri Ihesu Christi	X D Anastasie m	X (red) Anastasie v
26	Stephani protom	X 9L	X (red)
27	Iohannis ap et ev	X D	X (red)
28	Innocentium	X 9L	X
29		Thome ep 9L	Thome ep et m
30		(Sabini ep)	
31	Silvestri pp Columbe v	X 9L	X (red)

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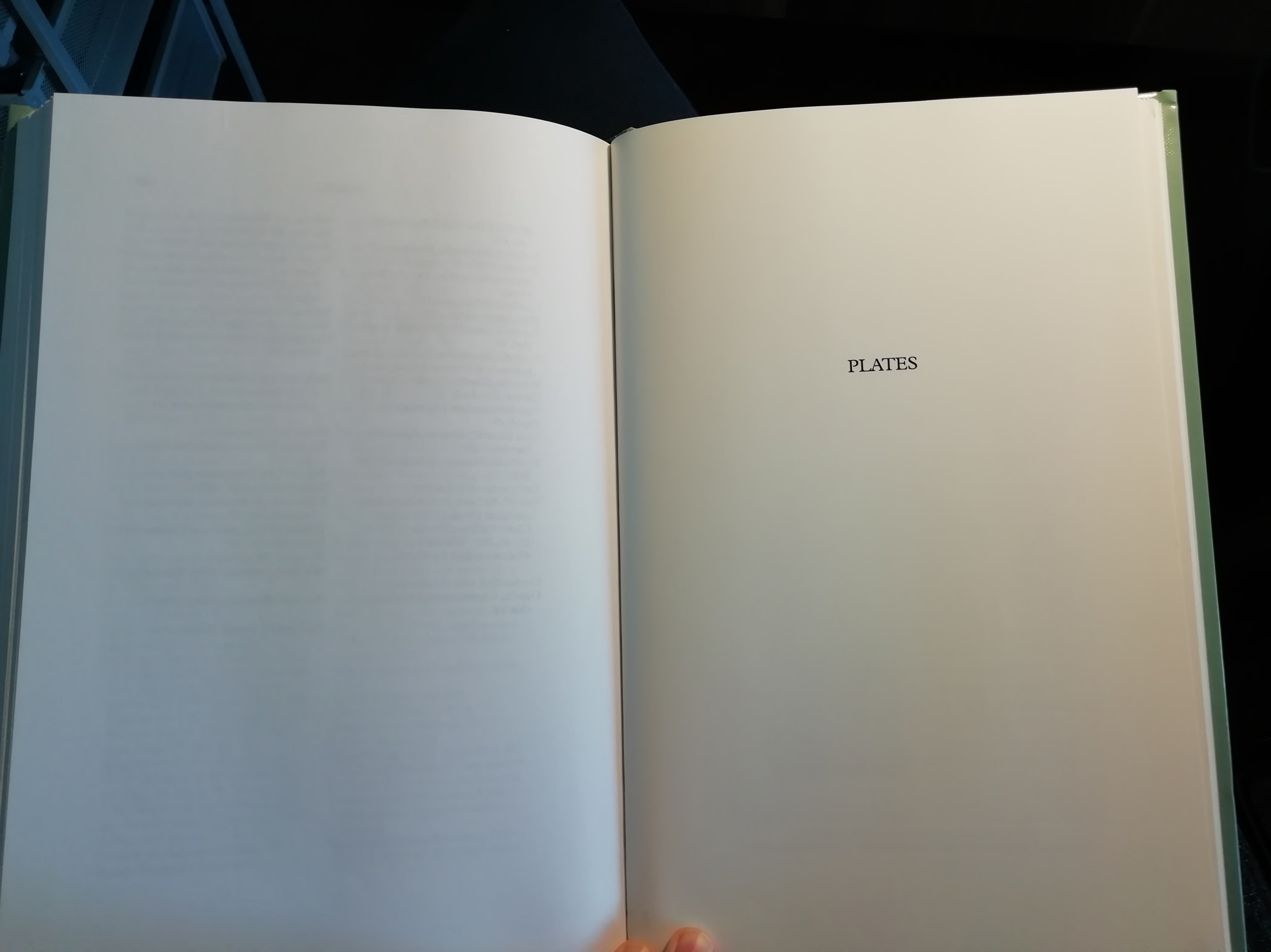
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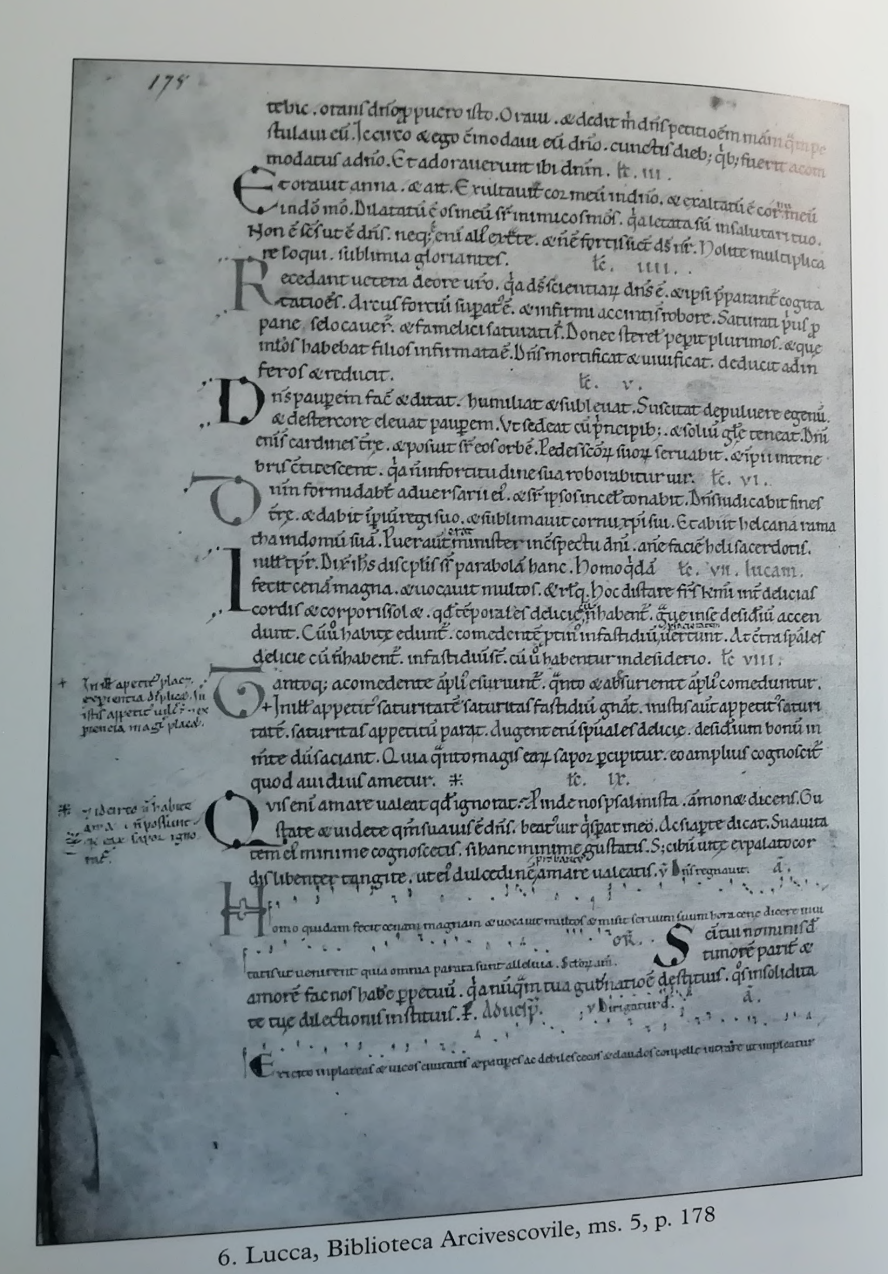
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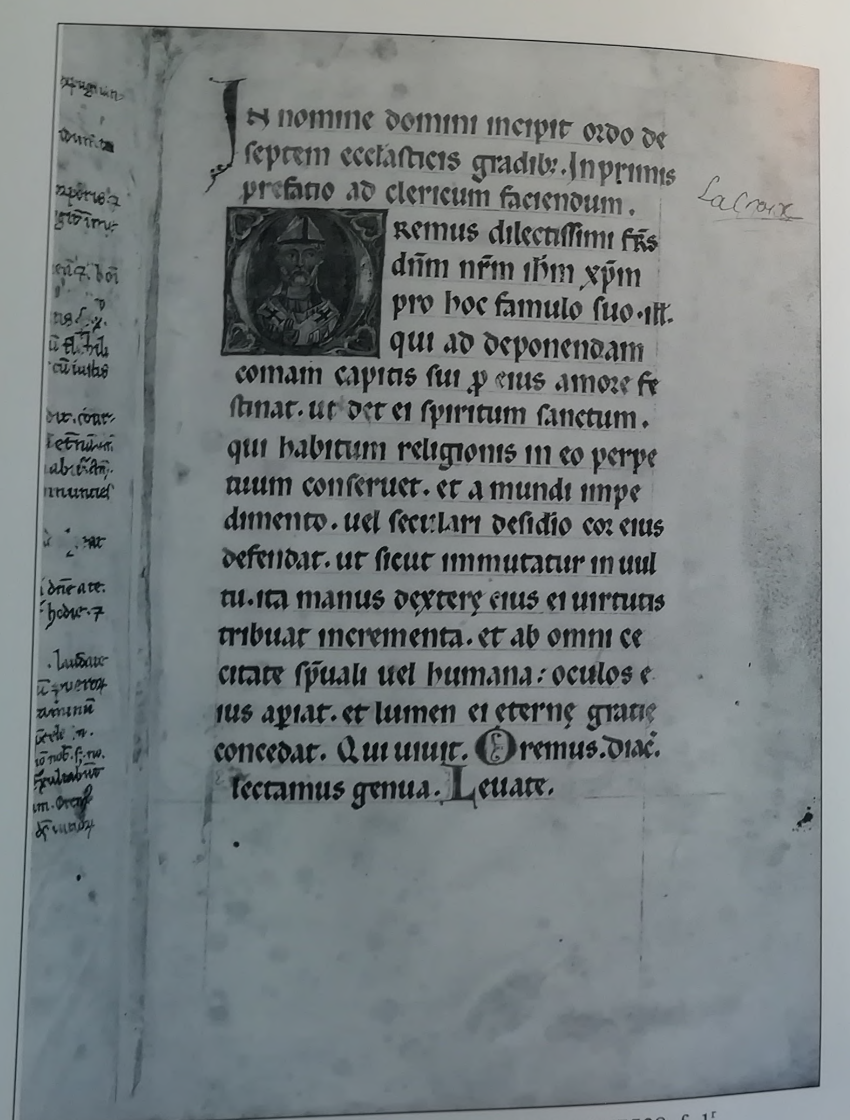


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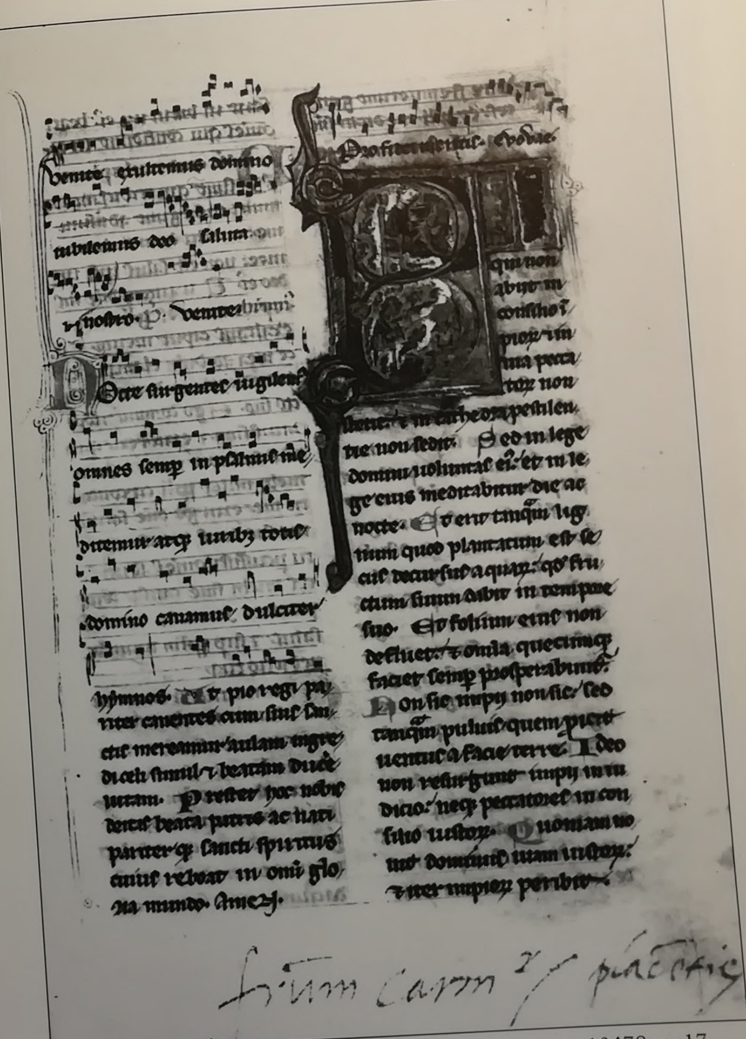
In nomine domini incipit ordo de
septem ecclesiasticis gradib;. In primis
prefatio ad clericum faciendum.
Oremus dilectissimi fr̃s
dñm nr̃m ih̃m xp̃m
pro hoc famulo suo .ill.
qui ad deponendam
comam capitis sui p eius amore fe
stinat. ut det ei spiritum sanctum.
qui habitum religionis in eo perpe
tuum conseruet. et a mundi impe
dimento. uel seculari desidio cor eius
defendat. ut sicut immutatur in uul
tu. ita manus dextere eius ei uirtutis
tribuat incrementa. et ab omni ce
citate sp̃uali uel humana: oculos e
ius apiat. et lumen ei eterne gratie
concedat. Qui uiuit. Oremus. Diac.
Flectamus genua. Leuate.

10. London, British Library, ms. Additional 57528, f. 1r
(By permission of the British Library)

In fine in hymnis. Ps̃ cantici dd̃. Vox aplor
promissum xpisti postulantium.
Deus misereatur nr̃i et benedicat
nobis: illuminet uultum suũ
sup nos. et misereatur nostri.
Et cognoscamus in terra uiam tuam: in
omnibus gentib; salutare tuum.
Confiteantur tibi popli ds̃: confiteant
tibi populi om̃s.
Letentur et exultent gentes. qm̃ iudicas
poplos in equitate: et gentes in tra dirigis.
Confiteantur t̃ ppli ds̃: confiteant t̃ ppli oẽs.
terra dedit fructum suum.
Benedicat nos deus deus nr̃. benedicat
nos deus: et metuant eum õs fines terre.
In fine ps̃ cantici dd̃. pphã de .i. uel scdo
xp̃i aduentu et ascensione ei ad celos.
ac spc sci dono ad aplos. et de uocatioẽ
gentium dicit.
Exurgat ds̃ et
dissipentur inimici eius: et
fugiant qui oder eũ a facie ei.

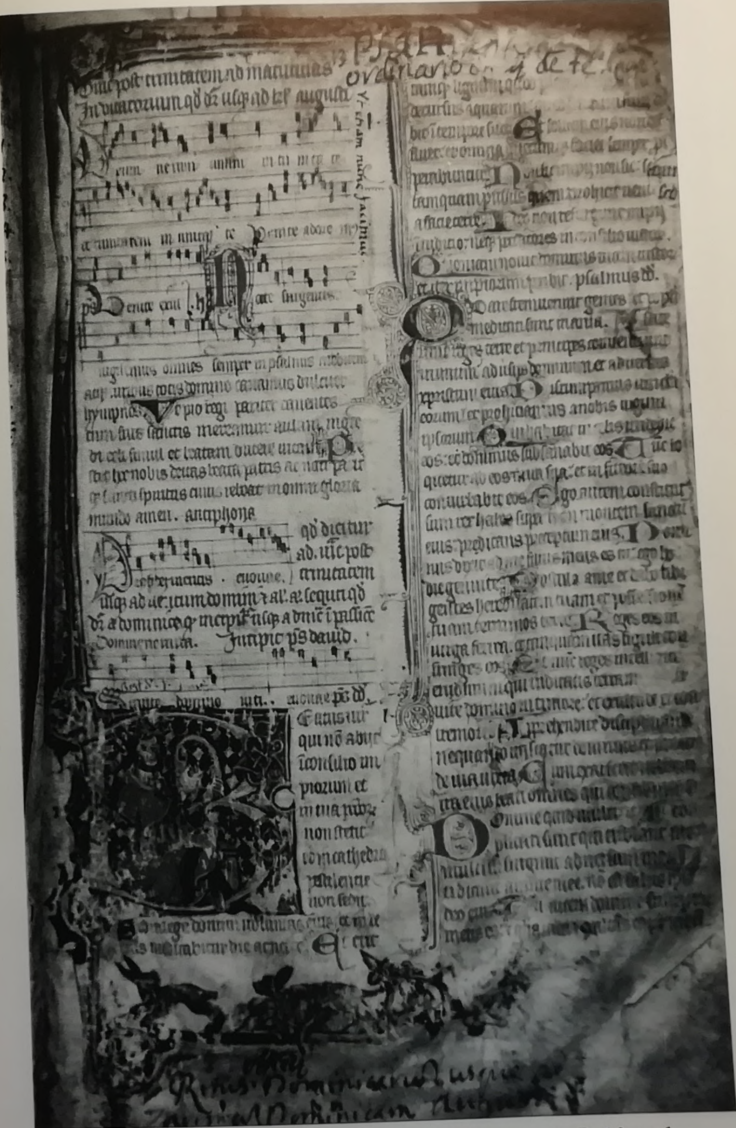
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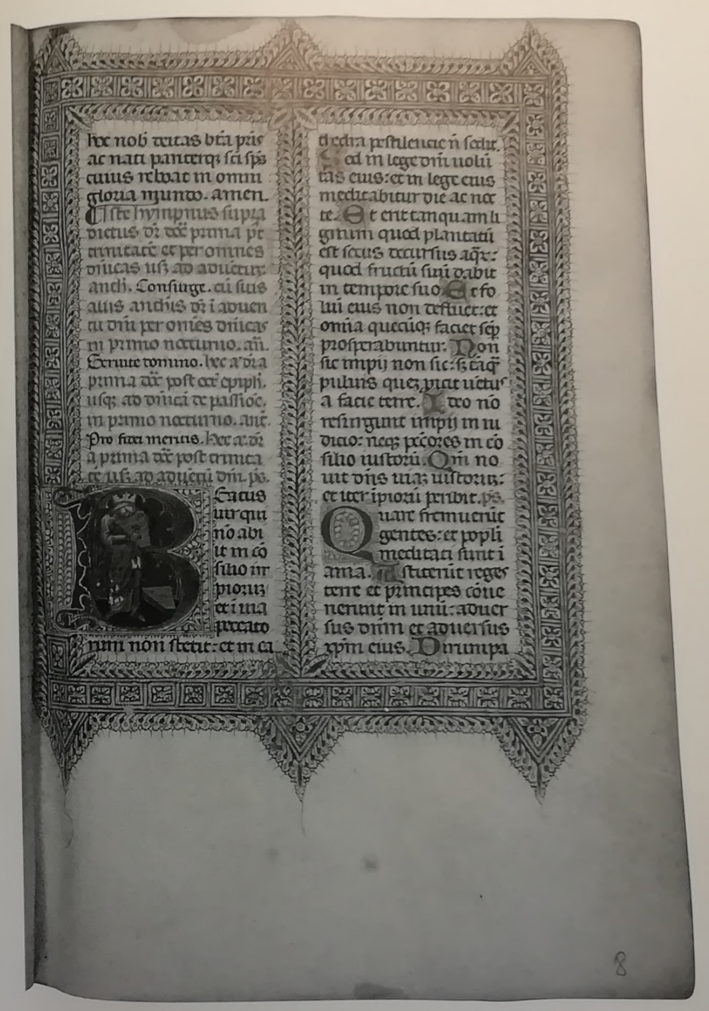
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